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Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting in the Eleventh Century

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THE task of defining and characterizing Byzantine painting in the eleventh century immediately raises the question as to whether this century created a style sufficiently distinctive from the preceding and following centuries as to constitute a clearly discernible artistic identity of its own. We cannot *a priori* assume that history has done us the favour of changing, for the convenience of the scholar, style at the turn of each century. And even if one does notice changes at the beginning of a new century, are they more important and more decisive than those which occur naturally with each new generation within any given century? In order to answer this question, one has first to try to establish a chronology of miniature and icon painting as precisely as possible.

For each phase of the history of art, the analysis and the development of its style has to be based on surely dated monuments, which may not always be works of art of the highest artistic merit, but which offer incalculable service as focal points around which related works can be grouped. As for the eleventh century¹ — and this would be equally true for some other centuries of the Middle Ages — the most suitable material for such a study is miniature painting, since in this medium, because of its association with texts, a higher percentage of monuments are either firmly dated or datable on historical or palaeographical grounds. The study of icon paintings, as far as the eleventh century is concerned, has only very recently come into focus, after a certain number of icons of high quality were discovered at Mount Sinai.² They, however, do not contribute to the solving of the problem of precise dating since not a single icon of this period has a sure date or can be dated by internal evidence. Their dating therefore is conversely dependent on miniature painting. Monumental painting poses a lesser problem than icons, since at least a few of the major mosaic cycles — Nicaea, now destroyed, the Nea Moni of Chios, and S. Sophia in Kiev — can be dated within a fixed period of either a few years or a quarter of the eleventh century. But mosaics are more sporadically preserved than manuscripts, and do not give a complete picture of the stylistic development of this century. Thus it seems justifiable to concentrate on book illumination for the sake of establishing a chronology.

Miniature painting of the tenth century has a definite focus in the Macedonian Renaissance which had reached its zenith around the middle of that century under

¹ The most comprehensive treatment of the history of Byzantine painting which does justice to all its branches is found in: V. N. Lazarev, *Istoriya Vizantiiskoy Zhivopisi* (Moscow, 1947).

² G. et M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinai*, i [Planches] (Athens, 1956); ii [Texte] (ibid., 1958).

Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos, the scholar and artist on the imperial throne. The Psalter (cod. gr. 139) in Paris, the Joshua-roll in the Vatican (cod. Palat. gr. 431), and the classicizing evangelists of the Gospels (cod. 43) in Stauronikita on Mount Athos are the best known and most striking witnesses of this revival movement.¹ Towards the end of the tenth century the classicizing style began to run its course and to become somewhat mannered, as can be exemplified by the miniatures of the well-known menologion in the Vatican (cod. gr. 1613), a product of an imperial workshop made for Basil II.² The classical forms remained alive, however, especially in the scenes from the Life of Christ which, we believe, hark back to a Gospel lectionary, in which the Macedonian Renaissance had asserted itself most forcefully.³ In the scene of Baptism (pl. 1) Christ is well-proportioned; in the figure of John the Baptist, however, a sense of physical reality begins to be exaggerated or — to use another term — to be mannered; in the case of Andrew, the artist delights in creating a forceful turning of the body, while Peter, in spite of the unnatural craning of his neck, appears as the most classical figure, not unlike an orator with his arm in the sling of his mantle and holding a scroll. The mountains seem to recede from the foreground, whereby the painter — Georgios is his name⁴ — tried to capture the illusion of depth, not from his own observation of nature, but by his studies of classical models.

There is in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore a menologion of the month of January (cod. W521),⁵ which once belonged to the Patriarchal Library of Alexandria,⁶ whose miniatures are obviously copied directly from the Vatican menologion. Though not of the same quality, yet one would assume that these very faithful copies, like that of the Baptism (pl. 2), would have been executed in the same imperial scriptorium. The differences are very slight; one will notice that the figure of John the Baptist is not as massive or as vigorous; that the movements of the two disciples are somewhat stiffer and the faces less expressive. At the end of each of the 24 Lives which are contained in the Baltimore manuscript there is a poem with an acrostic which reveals that the manuscript had been written for a certain Michael II who is supposed to be Michael IV, the Paphlagonian (1034–41). If this is correct, which is not sure, the manuscript would be about half a century later than the Basil menologion, and thus provide the evidence that in the span of the half century which lies between the execution of these two manuscripts, no basic changes in style had taken place and that, consequently, the years around the turn of the millennium were not a starting point for a new trend in miniature painting.

¹ The most recent study of this Renaissance movement where a more complete bibliography can be found is: K. Weitzmann, *Geistige Grundlagen und Wesen der Makedonischen Renaissance* (Köln-Opladen, 1963).

² *Codices e Vaticanis Selecti*, viii: II Menologio di Basilio II (Torino, 1907) [facsimile]. As for the dating of this manuscript around the year 985 cf. S. Der Nersessian, 'Remarks on the Date of the Menologion', *Byzantion*, xv (1940–41), pp. 104 et seq.

³ On the various sources of the miniature cycle in the Vatican menologion cf. K. Weitzmann *Roll and Codex* (Princeton, 1947), pp. 199 et seq. esp. pp. 202–3.

⁴ The problem of the various artists has most recently been discussed by I. Ševčenko, 'The Illuminators of the Menologion of Basil II', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xvi (1962), pp. 243 et seq. Cf. also A. Frolov, 'L'origine des miniatures du Ménologe du Vatican', *Recueil des travaux de l'Institut d'Études byzantines*, vi (Belgrade, 1960), pp. 29 et seq.

⁵ Catalogue of the Exhibition 'Arts of the Middle Ages 1000–1400' (Boston, 1940), p. 3, no. 3 and pl. II — Catalogue Exhibition 'Early Christian and Byzantine Art' (Baltimore, 1947), p. 139, no. 707 and Pl. XCIX — Catalogue 'Byzantine Art, An European Art' (Athens, 1964), p. 342, no. 360 (in this exhibition the manuscript was, however, not exhibited). A facsimile of this manuscript is being prepared by Sirarpie Der Nersessian.

⁶ F. Halkin, 'Le mois de janvier du "Ménologe Impérial" byzantin', *Anal. Boll.*, lvii (1939), pp. 225 et seq.

More decisive are the changes one will notice in a miniature of the Baptism that decorates a Gospel lectionary (cod. 587) in the Athos monastery of Dionysiu.¹ We believe this manuscript too to be a product of the same imperial scriptorium that produced the two aforementioned menologia, since quite a number of its miniatures belong to the same iconographic and artistic tradition. Moreover, we have previously² tried to establish some evidence that the Dionysiu lectionary was made for the emperor Isaac Comnenos, when, in 1059, he retired to the Studios monastery. In this third miniature of Baptism (pl. 3), not only have the proportions of the human figures changed towards greater slenderness, but John the Baptist and the angels lean forward so that their stance is unstable and they seem to sway. The cross-legged pose of Christ creates a similar effect. The aim of the artist is obviously to deprive the human figures, to a large extent, of their physical reality without altering the harmony of body proportions and without abandoning the formulae of classical drapery. The dates of the Baltimore menologion and the Dionysiu lectionary, which are highly likely though not definitely proved, suggest that around the middle of the eleventh century, within a fairly narrow time span, a more fundamental change of style occurred than at the turn of the millennium. This change of style coincides with the downfall of the Macedonian dynasty and thus it seems more reasonable to group works of art of the tenth century together with those of the first half of the eleventh century under the heading of 'Art of the Macedonian Dynasty', rather than to apply a purely mechanical division by centuries. This is not a new idea. Victor Lazarev, in his history of Byzantine painting, divided different periods by dynasties, and Sotiriou, in his treatment of the Sinai icons, arrived at similar divisions.³ In introducing the Baltimore and the Dionysiu manuscripts, we have been able to bring the characteristic changes which took place in the transitional period into sharper focus and to narrow down its time limits to around the middle of the eleventh century.

Yet the turn from a classicizing emphasis to a comparatively more abstract one which produced a more spiritualizing style was not quite as abrupt as the Baptism miniatures may suggest. Within Byzantine miniature painting of that period, our examples thus far represent only one mode of expression, since the same three manuscripts contain other miniatures in a somewhat different mode.

The majority of pictures in most menologia depict frontally standing saints, who convey an impression of hieratic dignity. They are much less corporeal than the more plastic figures in the scenic compositions, but at the same time, as demonstrated by the portrait of Gregory of Nazianzus in the Vatican⁴ (pl. 4) and the Baltimore menologion (pl. 5), the comparatively thick-set proportions are in conformity with the Macedonian style. Characteristic also of this particular recension of menologian miniatures are the elaborate architectural backgrounds which ultimately are derived from the *scenae frons* of the Roman theatre.⁵ But while the background in the Vatican miniature is reminiscent of a perspective rendering derived from the classical past, the architecture in the Baltimore miniature has

¹ K. Weitzmann, 'The Narrative and Liturgical Gospel Illustrations', *New Testament Manuscript Studies*, ed. by M. M. Parvis and A. P. Wikgren (Chicago, 1950), p. 157 passim and pls. XIV, XVI-XVII, XX-XXI, XXIV-XXVI, XXXII. A. Grabar, *L'Iconoclisme Byzantin* (Paris, 1957), p. 203, and fig. 142.

² *Ibid.*, p. 173.

³ Cf. p. 1, notes 1 and 2.

⁴ Facsimile p. 349.

⁵ H. Kenner, 'Die frühmittelalterliche Buchmalerei und das klassische griechische Theatre', *Österreichische Jahreshefte*, xxxix (1952), pp. 47 et seq. For the use of theatre backgrounds in evangelist miniatures cf. Weitzmann, *Geistige Grundlagen*, pp. 26 et seq.

become more two-dimensional. The Gregory figure in the Dionysiu lectionary (pl. 6) is more slender than the two previous ones, but otherwise the change is not as marked as in the case of the Baptism scenes, because in the case of these saints, the earlier miniatures already reveal a tendency towards diminishing their physical reality. This dematerialization is also expressed in the architecture of the Dionysiu miniature; it is merely sketched in a brown colour so as to give the impression of a grisaille, thus losing all suggestion of solidity.

In the third quarter of the eleventh century, the abstract tendencies in the figure style are greatly intensified, as may be seen in the miniatures of a menologion in the Historical Museum of Moscow (cod. 382)¹ which is dated A.D. 1063. The scenes from the life of John the Baptist, his Birth, Decapitation, and the Finding of his Head (pl. 7) are executed in a rather sketchy manner with a certain disregard for proportion, movement, and stance of the body, thereby moving further away from the classical tradition than any miniature of the Macedonian period. The same is true for the frontal figures of saints as, e.g., St. Procopius (pl. 8) whose thin legs and arms have an almost doll-like quality. What had been two different modes of expression — one for scenic representations and one for single saint figures — has now been fused into one, wherein the abstract mode has gained the upper hand.

We have a considerable number of dated manuscripts from the fourth quarter of the eleventh century. with the beginning of the Comnenian dynasty, one of the finest being a Psalter and New Testament which comes from the Athos monastery of Pantocratoros (cod. 49), and is now in Dumbarton Oaks in Washington.² The Easter tables begin with the year 1084 and this can be assumed to be the date of the origin of the manuscript.

In the scene of the Birth of David (pl. 9), obviously modelled after a composition of the Birth of John the Baptist or that of the Virgin, the figures are just as disjointed as those in the Moscow menologion, although they are more refined and not as sketchy. The same holds true if one compares St. Peter of the former (pl. 10)³ with St. Procopius of the latter. The basic difference between the miniatures of these codices is not so much that of a new direction towards greater solidity, but rather that the Pantocratoros Psalter is of higher quality and has realized a comparatively stronger assertion of the classical mode.

A return to greater solidity of the human body is, however, discernible in the early twelfth century, as exemplified by the miniatures of a Gospel book in the Vatican Library (cod. Urb. gr. 2), which was written in the time of John II Comnenos and his son Alexius (1119-43).⁴ As in the miniature of the Birth of John the Baptist (pl. 11), the outlines and highlights are more sharply delineated and, in certain cases, there is a tendency to over-emphasize the plasticity of the human

¹ G. Cereteli-S. Sobolevski, *Exempla Codicum Grecorum*, i: *Codices Mosquenses* (Moscow, 1911), pl. XIX. — K. and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts*, vi (Boston, Mass., 1936), pls. 408-411. — Lazarev, op. cit., pp. 109, 315, 324, and pl. 132.

² G. Millet, in *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, xviii (1894), p. 453, and pl. XV. — O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Oxford, 1911), figs. 277-278. — G. Millet-S. Der Nersessian in *Rev. Et. Armén.*, ix (1929), p. 165, and pl. IX. — H. Buchthal, *The miniatures of the Paris Psalter* (London, 1938), pp. 28, 38-41, and figs. 53, 68, 76, 78. — F. Dölger, *Mönchsland Athos* (1943), pp. 178, 180, and figs. 98-101. — Lazarev, op. cit., pp. 111, 314, 339, and pl. 141. — Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 111, 149, 152, 162, 170, 185, and figs. 140, 157, 164.

³ This miniature was cut out and acquired by the Cleveland Museum of Art before the manuscript was sold to Dumbarton Oaks.

⁴ C. Stornajolo, *Miniature delle Omilie di Giacomo Monaco e dell'Evangelario Greco Urbinate* (*Codd. e Vat. selecti*, Ser. Min., i; Rome, 1910), pp. 19 et seq., and pls. 83 et seq.

body and to treat highlights in a patterned fashion. This is not merely a return to the style of the Macedonian period, but the formulation of a new style which attempts to fuse the Macedonian heritage with the expressive elements emphasized in the style of the second half of the eleventh century, i.e. the early Comnenian style. The piercing eyes in the stern faces are indications of the development of a new vigour. Another new trend is a certain ornamental quality achieved by dividing the miniature surface into smaller units on a two-dimensional plane with an almost complete disregard of spatial relationships. Although the style of the second half of the eleventh century shows a more dematerialized human figure than in the periods before and after, in order to define generally the style of the eleventh century, we have chosen miniatures that represent what we would consider a 'middle of the road' style. If one begins to study all the facets of the eleventh-century style, one will soon notice a wide range of modes of expression existing side by side. The style of the Macedonian renaissance, though losing strength towards its end, nevertheless asserted itself quite strongly on occasion, even in the second half of the eleventh century, as may be demonstrated by another miniature of the Pantocratoros Psalter. Juxtaposed against the general tendency of this period to ignore spatial effects to a large degree, the miniature of Moses receiving the Tablets (pl. 12)¹ shows the prophet in a landscape that has not lost its spatial quality, in comparison with the corresponding miniature in the Paris Psalter (cod. gr. 139; pl. 13),² one of the key monuments of the Macedonian renaissance. The classical personification of Mount Sinai is perhaps not as fully fleshed and vital as its counterpart in the Paris miniature, yet it still conveys the flavour of the classical tradition.

On the other hand, the tendencies towards more abstract forms, as witnessed in the miniatures of the Moscow menologion (pls. 7-8), are carried still further in a Psalter manuscript now in London (Brit. Mus. cod. add. 19352), which was written in 1066 in the Studios monastery by a monk, Theodore.³ Here the scene of the Receiving of the Law (pl. 14) is placed in a silhouette-like mountain landscape which lacks any illusion of depth. The human figures are over-elongated and flat, a quality which is enhanced by gold striation that has a decorative quality but does not suggest any highlights.

It is not without significance that this high degree of abstraction occurs in a product of the leading monastery of Constantinople, and one may well deduce from this fact that the spiritual quality which is expressed pictorially through the weightlessness of the human body is an assertion of the ascetic spirit of monasticism. This is the period in which the Studios monastery in particular was the centre of ascetic and mystic writing and where Symeon the New Theologian had started his career. Thus it becomes logical that there would exist a close connexion between the peculiarly ascetic style of the book illumination of the Studios monastery and the spiritual forces asserted in the literary production of this leading monastery of Constantinople. On the strength of close stylistic similarities, one of the richest illustrated manuscripts, a Gospel book in Paris (Bibl. Nat. cod. gr. 74), can be ascribed to the same date and, with a high degree of probability, to the same

¹ Buchthal, *op. cit.*, pl. XXV, 68.

² H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (2nd ed., Paris, 1929), p. 8, and pl. X. — Buchthal, *op. cit.*, p. 33 et seq., and pl. X.

³ G. F. Warner, *Reproductions from Illuminated Manuscripts*, II Ser. (ed. 2, London, 1910), pls. II-III. — G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'Iconographie de l'Evangile* (Paris, 1916): for page references cf. index, p. 742; also figs. 13, 33, 64, 87, 119, 142-143, 184, 241, 299, 343, 424, 460, 463. — Lake, *op. cit.*, ii (1934), pls. 129-130. — Lazarev, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-8, 321, and pl. 124.

scriptorium in the Studios monastery.¹ As demonstrated once more by a Baptism scene (pl. 15), the physical reality of the human figures is reduced almost to the degree where they become phantom-like. In this manuscript, the abstract figure style has reached its climax.

If, indeed, our thesis is correct, that the ideals of monastic asceticism were a strong factor in shaping the outlook of painters of the second half of the eleventh century, then one would expect this style to be especially clearly expressed in illustrations for monastic writings; and this is indeed the case. The most popular manual for the conduct of the monk is the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus, which, written in the seventh century on Mount Sinai, was, as far as we can tell, decorated for the first time with extensive cycles — and this is in itself symptomatic — in the eleventh century.² The richest and artistically most refined manuscript among a considerable number of copies, which indicates that this treatise became quite fashionable at that time, is in the Vatican (cod. gr. 394). It is surely a product from the second half of the eleventh century of a Constantinopolitan monastery. There is no need to emphasize once more the bodyless quality of the human figure (pl. 16), except to state that it seems a peculiarly fitting pictorial formula for the representation of a monk and that it was applied even to classical personifications like Malice (*μνησικακία*) and Humility (*ταπεινοφροσύνη*),³ i.e. even to figures derived from the classical tradition where one would least expect to find it. Moreover the denial of physical reality applies also to the attenuated architectural details and to the impression of floating of the human figures.

This illustration from the Heavenly Ladder, then, leads us to the more general problem of what miniature and icon painting as well contributed to the history of Byzantine art of the eleventh century from the iconographical point of view. In book illumination, the great narrative cycles of the Old Testament, such as those of the Octateuchs, the Books of Kings, the Book of Job, and also of the Gospels, continued to be illustrated with comparatively few changes. The major changes took place in the liturgical books. Of course the Psalter, the Gospel lectionary, and the menologion, to mention only the three most outstanding ones in the history of book illumination, had long existed with illustrations, but in the eleventh century some important innovations and enrichments were made which are not so much to be sought in the iconography of the single scene, but in the organization of the miniature cycle as a whole, in which the individual scenes are often derived from various sources and then rearranged.

I should like to deal briefly with all three service books and begin with the menologion. The older tradition was a selection of the Lives of certain Saints⁴ and when these were illustrated,⁵ they were, so it seems from later evidence, accompanied by more or less extensive narrative miniature cycles. This type of illustrated

¹ H. Omont, *Évangiles avec Peintures Byzantines du XI^e siècle* (Paris, s.d.). — Millet, op. cit., pp. and figs. cf. index p. 746. — Lazarev, op. cit., pp. 107–8, 113, 242, 313, 321, 376, and pls. 125–126.

² J. R. Martin, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus* (Princeton, 1954).

³ Ibid., p. 66, and pl. XXXI, 102.

⁴ The main study where the older bibliography can be found is: A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, I–lii Leipzig, 1937 et seq.).

⁵ For the illustration of the menologion cf. S. Der Nersessian, 'The illustrations of the Metaphrastian Menologium', *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in honor of A. M. Friend, Jr.*, ed. by K. Weitzmann (Princeton, 1955), pp. 222 et seq. — P. Mijović, 'Une Classification Iconographique de Ménologes Enluminés', *Actes du XII^e Congrès International d'Études Byzantines*, iii (Belgrade, 1964), pp. 271 et seq.

menologion has survived in the eleventh-century manuscript in Esphigmenu on Mount Athos (cod. 14),¹ which contains altogether eight Vitae from September to December, and each Vita, like that of Menas, Hermogenes, and Eustraphus (Dec. 10) (pl. 17),² has at its beginning a narrative picture cycle which covers the recto and verso of a purple leaf. This system of illustration of a saint's life surely has a long history and still persists, in some instances like the Esphigmenu manuscript, in the Metaphrastes texts.

In the eleventh century, these narrative cycles from the Lives of Saints invade icon painting and the earliest example we know of is a triptych wing — now cut in two parts — which is preserved in the icon collection of St. Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai.³ The six scenes from the life of St. Nicholas, including the early scenes of his ordination as priest and bishop, and the last one, his burial, belong to a cycle of 20 such scenes which were originally distributed over the centre and both wings of the triptych. The style of these delicately depicted scenes is so much in the tradition of the illustrated book that we must assume not only that a miniature cycle was the source, but that icons and miniatures may in instances like this have actually been executed by the same artist. Towards the end of the tenth century, Simeon Metaphrastes compiled his extensive collection of the Lives of Saints with the intention of having, as a norm, one Vita for each day of the ecclesiastical year. A complete copy of this hagiographic encyclopaedia consisted commonly of either 12 volumes, one for each month, or — and this is by no means a rare case — of 24 volumes, one for each half month. This Metaphrastian compilation led to the need for standardization of its illustration. The norm would now be to have one picture at the beginning of each Vita and, on occasion, a second one at its end, and these pictures could be either scenic or consist of frontally standing saints. A characteristic example is the eleventh-century menologion in the Lavra monastery on Mount Athos (cod. 4. 51),⁴ which comprises only the lives from the second half of December, and thus must have been part of a 24-volume edition. A picture of either a scenic illustration or a standing saint precedes each Vita: the life of St. Eugenia (pl. 19a) is preceded by a scene of her martyrdom which seems to be excerpted from a richer illustrated Vita. In other instances where narrating cycles did not exist or were not available, new pictures had to be invented, which did not always fit the narrative details of the text. In the case of the standing saints, like that of St. Melane (pl. 19b), we deal with solitary figures which the artist repeats with a certain monotony. To extract from larger narrative cycles and to add single miniatures is a procedure which was already used in the Basil menologion, which strictly speaking is not a menologion but a synaxarion, and it is by no means unlikely that this famous manuscript was the first ever to adopt this system.

Another variant is to collect on one title page all the individual miniatures of one volume and to line them up in rows. There is on Mount Sinai (cod. 512) a menologion with such a title miniature (pl. 20) which comprises in three rows frontal standing saints as well as scenic representations like that of the killing of the

¹ H. Brockhaus, *Die Kunst in den Athosklöstern* (Leipzig, 1891), pp. 192, 228, and pl. 26. — Dölger, op. cit., p. 174, and fig. 94.

² K. Weitzmann, *Aus den Bibliotheken des Athos* (Hamburg, 1963), pp. 89 et seq., and pls. on pp. 91, 95.

³ The lower part of the wing is published by G. et M. Sotiriou, op. cit., p. 62, and pl. 46, the upper part by K. Weitzmann, 'Fragments of an early St. Nicholas Triptych on Mount Sinai', *Τυμητικός Γ. Σωτηρίου, Δελτ. Χριστ. Αρχ. Έραυ., Περ. Δ', Τόμ. Δ'* (Athens, 1964), pp. 1 et seq., and figs. 1-3.

⁴ S. Der Nersessian, op. cit., p. 226, and pls. XXIV, 2; XXV, 7.

40 martyrs of Mount Sinai and that of St. Peter in prison. The depictions in this volume relate to the *Vitae* that begin January 5 and end January 17, i.e. once more we are dealing with a manuscript from a 24-volume edition.

This very same arrangement we find on icons of that period. From a set on Mount Sinai which had originally 12 panels, one for each month, 4 remain, including that of the month of February (pl. 21).¹ In seven rows standing saints, scenes of martyrdom, and calendar feasts like the Presentation in the Temple in the top row are lined up in precisely the same fashion as in the Sinai miniature. There can be little doubt that the individual scenes and figures of saints hark ultimately back to an illustrated menologion, while vice versa, the idea of a 'collective picture' very likely started out in icon painting and then was adapted for greater convenience by some miniature painters. Possibly we are dealing in both cases with an artist who was used to working in either technique.

The second liturgical book containing profuse and varied illustrations, which surely reach back into the Early Byzantine period, is the Psalter. The changes which took place in the eleventh century in its illustration are perhaps less spectacular than in the menologion, but nevertheless add further new aspects to the iconographical development. The problem in the two basic picture recensions which Tikkanen² had once termed the 'aristocratic' and the 'monastic' is not so much that of a reorganization of the basic cycles, but of the additions which were made in both recensions.

We have already introduced the Psalter which was once in the Pantocratoros monastery and is now in Washington and which belongs to the aristocratic recension, and we have also dealt with its miniature of the Birth of David (pl. 9). The lower scene of the same page with the Anointing of David is a literal copy of the corresponding miniature of the tenth-century Psalter in Paris.³ However, the Birth scene does not exist in the Paris Psalter and must therefore have been added to this recension later, and most likely not before the eleventh century. The rather novel intention of the artist is clear: to round out the David cycle in the fashion of a Saint's Vita with a picture of his birth, although this event is not mentioned in the Books of Kings. The model was apparently a miniature of the Birth of the Virgin which the Psalter painter could have found in a Gospel lectionary,⁴ where it headed the lesson for September 8, the feast of the Birth of the Virgin. What is of primary importance is the fact that a New Testament composition had stimulated the imagination of an Old Testament illustrator. This is by no means an isolated case, but the expression of a general trend in the Middle Byzantine period, intensified in the eleventh century.

Another addition to the recension is found in the composition of the folio preceding the one with the Birth and Anointing of David. It is also divided in two zones (pl. 22);⁵ the upper one shows the Virgin cut off below the waist and on a much larger scale than the flanking John the Baptist and the archangel Michael, and the lower zone is occupied by the three church fathers Gregory, Basil, and John

¹ G. et M. Sotiriou, *op. cit.*, pp. 123 et seq., and pl. 144.

² J. J. Tikkanen, *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter* (*Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, xxxi, No. 5; Helsingfors, 1903).

³ Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. III; Buchthal, *op. cit.*, pl. III.

⁴ As, e.g., in the lectionary Vatican gr. 1156, Fol. 246^v, Weitzmann, *New Test. MS. Studies*, p. 160, and pl. XVIII, fig. 1.

⁵ This leaf has recently been cut out and its present whereabouts are not known to me. I am reproducing a photograph which I made myself when the manuscript was still in Pantocratoros.

Chrysostom. In this case the miniature painter was inspired by monumental art — to be precise, by an apse decoration in which the Virgin dominated the centre of the conch (this explains the deviation in scale), and the church fathers occupied the lower regions of the apse wall. Other instances of an influence of monumental art upon book illumination have been known from earlier centuries,¹ but the point in which our miniature differs from these is that the influence is not confined to a single scene or figure, but that it attempts to reflect a complex liturgical programme, as is typical of an apse composition. Depicted are the chief intercessors as based on the prayer of intercession of the liturgy² — only the apostles are not represented. With this liturgical aspect we touch upon perhaps the most decisive element in eleventh-century Byzantine painting, about which more will be said later. It is all the more important since it appears here in an Old Testament manuscript. Also the second major recension of the illustrated Psalter, the so-called 'monastic' one, made some significant additions in the eleventh century.

The ninth-century Psalters with their extensive cycles of marginal illustrations, the one in the Pantocratoros monastery (cod. 61)³ and the Chludoff Psalter in the Historical Museum in Moscow (cod. 129),⁴ are what I should like to call polycyclic, i.e. they contain whole sets of pictures from different sources, including a few from the Lives of Saints. The latter belong to an iconographic realm where the illustrator of the eleventh century expanded the pictorial cycle and added many more hagiographical illustrations,⁵ which obviously were taken from a Simeon Metaphrastes menologion of the same type as the one in Lavra, of which I showed two illustrations, the standing St. Melane and the martyrdom of St. Eugenia (pls. 19a–b). Both these types of pictures occur in the Theodore Psalter in London, as may be demonstrated by the figure of St. Stephen the Younger (pl. 23a),⁶ whose picture the illustrator found in the Metaphrastes Vita of November 28, and by the scene in which a servant of the emperor carves an inscription on the forehead of St. Theodore Graptos, taken from the saint's Vita of December 27 (pl. 23b). It is significant that this new influx of iconographical subject matter should be taken from a Metaphrastes menologion, i.e. a liturgical book which itself is a creation of the end of the tenth century.⁷

Of all the liturgical books, the most important is the Gospel lectionary, which is used as an implement of the service, being carried around by the deacon in the Little Introitus of the Divine Liturgy, and for this reason it usually had a precious metal cover, studded with jewels, pearls, and enamels, though only few such covers are

¹ A striking example are some of the full-page miniatures of the Rossano Gospels. W. C. Loerke, 'The Miniatures of the Trial in the Rossano Gospels', *Art Bulletin*, xliii (1961), pp. 171 et seq.

² For the impact of the liturgy, esp. the prayer of intercession, on the ivories of the tenth century cf. E. H. Kantorowicz, 'Ivories and Litanies', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, v (1942), pp. 56 et seq.

³ Tikkanen, *Psalterillustration*, p. 11, and passim. — K. Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrh.* (Berlin, 1935), pp. 54 et seq., and pls. LIX–LXI.

⁴ N. Kondakoff, *Miniatures du MS. grec du Psautier du IX^e siècle de la collection A. I. Chludow à Moscou* (Moscow, 1878). — Tikkanen, op. cit., p. 11 passim and pls. 1–3. — Malicki, in *Byzantion*, iii (1926), p. 123, pls. 1–3. — Id., in *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, i (1927), pp. 49 et seq. — Id., in *L'Art Byzantin chez les Slaves*, ii. Recueil Uspensky, II. Partie (Paris, 1932), p. 235. — Weitzmann, op. cit., pp. 55 et seq., and pls. LXI–LXII.

⁵ L. Mariès, S.J., 'L'Irruption des Saints dans l'illustration du Psautier Byzantin', *Mélanges P. Peeters*, ii (*Anal. Boll.*, lxviii; 1950), pp. 153 et seq.

⁶ Grabar, *Iconoclasm*, p. 202 and fig. 141.

⁷ The increasing popularity of the full calendar in the eleventh century also finds expression in its versified form in the eleventh-century poet Cristophoros of Mytilene. E. Follieri-I. Dujčev, 'Il Calendario in Sticheri di Cristoforo di Mitilene', *Byzantinoslavica*, xxv (1964), pp. 1 et seq.

preserved. No wonder that miniaturists concentrated their greatest effort on the embellishment of this service book, and this applies to the refinement of the technique as well as the iconographic richness.¹ There exist from the tenth century illustrated lectionaries of high quality, like the fragment in Leningrad, cod. XXI,² and these already concentrate on the liturgical pictures of the great feasts. Yet it is not before the eleventh century that lectionary illustration reaches the state of its fullest complexity which will inspire all subsequent lectionary illustration.

The finest lectionary of the eleventh century which we possess today is the one in Dionysiu, of which I have already introduced two examples (pls. 3 and 6). At the opening of the book the lesson of Easter Sunday is, as is normal, preceded by a picture of the Anastasis (pl. 24),³ a subject which, it will be remembered, is not based on a canonical Gospel but on the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, in which text, therefore, this composition must have originated. Thus it is logical that the traditional narrative miniature cycle of the Gospels, on which the lectionary cycle is largely based, would not have this scene.

The richest illustrated Gospel book with literally hundreds of iconographical units is in the Laurentian Library in Florence (cod. Plut. VI, 23) and belongs to the end of the eleventh century.⁴ The Gospel narrative is illustrated with a spirit of epic breadth, and at the end of Matthew's Gospel (pl. 25)⁵ the Deposition from the Cross and the Bewailing of Christ are followed by scenes of lesser importance: first the priests and Pharisees ask Pilate to have the tomb guarded, later the tomb is sealed and guards are posted; the last scene, which depicts the Holy Women at the Tomb, is again an important one. Each scene is a very literal illustration of the end of the 27th and the beginning of the 28th chapter of Matthew.

The second Gospel book of this period, almost as richly illustrated as the one in Florence, is the better known one in Paris, of which I discussed the Baptism scene (pl. 15). What is significant is that within the almost identical set of pictures of the Passion cycle (pl. 26),⁶ a representation of the Anastasis is added in the Paris Gospels ahead of that of the Women at the Tomb, and there can be little doubt that the intrusion of this scene is due to the influence of a lectionary. Nor is this the only instance of this kind in the Paris Gospels, while the Florentine Gospel is free from strictly liturgical scenes.⁷ Whereas Millet, in his *Recherches sur l'Évangile*, tried to explain the differences between the picture cycles of these two Gospel books in terms of a difference between an Antiochene and an Alexandrian recension, we rather believe that the basic distinction is that the Florentine cycle follows more strictly the narrative tradition of Early Christian art, while the Parisian cycle has undergone far-reaching changes under the impact of the liturgical lectionary cycle. It would seem to us to be no exaggeration to state that the crystallization of the

¹ For the importance of the illustrated lectionary cf. Weitzmann, 'Narrative and Liturgical Gospel illustration'. — Id., 'The Constantinopolitan Lectionary Morgan 639', *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle de Costa Greene* (Princeton, 1954), pp. 358 et seq.

² C. R. Morey, 'Notes on East Christian Miniatures', *Art Bulletin*, xi (1929), pp. 53 et seq., and figs. 61 passim. — Weitzmann, *Byz. Buchmal.*, pp. 59 et seq., and pls. LXVI–LXVII. — Lazarev, op. cit., p. 81, and pls. 66–68.

³ For the Anastasis iconography in general cf. C. R. Morey, *East Christian Paintings in the Freer Collection* (New York, 1914), pp. 45 et seq.

⁴ Millet, *Recherches*, pp. and figs. cf. index p. 739. — Lazarev, op. cit., pp. 115, 216, 374, 376, and Pl. 159.

⁵ Millet, *Recherches*, p. 493, and fig. 527.

⁶ Omont, *Évangiles avec Peint. Byz.*, pls. 52–54.

⁷ As for the influence of the lectionary cycle on the Paris Gospel book in other instances, cf. Weitzmann, 'Narrative and Liturgical Illustrations', p. 168, and pl. XXVII.

lectionary illustration into a liturgical cycle of canonical validity, and its spread into other manuscripts and a variety of media, are the most important aspect of eleventh-century book illumination.

One of the most striking examples of the wide distribution of lectionary miniatures is the appearance of the Anastasis picture in many different texts,¹ e.g. in the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, as a title miniature for the Easter homily — the codex in Jerusalem *Tάφου* 14 being a typical example (pl. 27).² What makes the appearance of the Anastasis and other lectionary miniatures in the Gregory so significant is that they occur during the time of the establishment of a new textual recension.³ Out of the original 45 homilies that exist with illustrations in the well-known Paris cod. gr. 510 of the end of the ninth century,⁴ a selection of 16 was made in the eleventh century, and these were arranged to be read in the liturgical order of the feast days. Consequently we now find the Easter homily placed at the beginning and illustrated with the Anastasis miniature. In this way the organization of the new edition of the illustrated homilies is very much the same as that of the Gospel lectionary proper, and this liturgical edition has survived as the accepted one.

The Anastasis is only one of the great feasts which in the middle Byzantine period were crystallized in a cycle of 12. There is nothing canonical about these 12 feasts and their selection is, to a certain extent, alterable, since a few feasts are interchangeable, but the cycle as such became a firmly established convention.⁵ The time when the cycle of the 12 feasts became fixed is not quite clear. The available evidence suggests that it might have existed already in the tenth century, although no complete cycle of that century has come down to us. However, we do have complete cycles from the eleventh century, although unfortunately none has survived in any Gospel lectionary where one would above all have expected it. Most of the extant lectionaries have only a selection of feast pictures in the form of splendid full-page miniatures. Our evidence for the full cycle rests on other eleventh-century manuscripts whose miniatures are based on a lectionary, and also on works of art in other media.

A rather unusual Psalter in the Vatican Library (cod. gr. 752), whose Easter tables begin with the year 1059, contains, inserted between the illustrated prefaces and the beginning of the first psalm, a cycle of the 12 feasts, distributed over three pages (pl. 28).⁶ These individually framed little feast pictures must ultimately have been derived from a lectionary, where the prototypes quite surely occupied full pages, and they thus provide the evidence for lectionaries with full feast cycles. The arrangement in rows in the Vatican Psalter resembles that of the previously discussed calendar icons, and thus it seems quite possible that the *direct* model was in this case an icon. This is just another instance of the easy interchange between these two media.

There exists on Mount Sinai a diptych (pls. 29a–b)⁷ which on stylistic grounds

¹ For a case of an Anastasis miniature in a Psalter cf. K. Weitzmann, 'Aristocratic Psalter and Lectionary', *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University*, xix (1960), pp. 98 et seq.

² W. H. P. Hatch, *Greek and Syrian Miniatures in Jerusalem* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), pp. 58 et seq., and pls. I–XVII. — Lazarev, *op. cit.*, p. 108, and pls. 129–130.

³ G. Galavaris, 'The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus' (Ph.D. thesis Princeton University, 1955). The liturgical aspect is much stressed in this thesis.

⁴ Omont, *Miniatur des plus anc. man. grecs*, pp. 10 et seq., and pls. XV–LX bis.

⁵ Millet, *Recherches*, pp. 15 et seq.

⁶ E. T. DeWald, *Vaticanus Graecus 752. The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint*, iii Part 2 (Princeton, 1942), pp. 6 et seq. and pls. XI–XIII. Actually there are 13 in the cycle, the Women at the Tomb being the supernumerary.

⁷ G. et M. Sotiriou, *op. cit.*, pp. 52 et seq., and pls. 39–41.

can be dated, if we are not mistaken, not later than the middle of the eleventh century, and which is the earliest icon with a cycle of the 12 feasts known to us. The scenes are executed in the most delicate miniature style and arranged in rows, which are unevenly subdivided; the latter feature may well be explained by the use of miniatures as models, where a variance of dimension is not uncommon. This feast cycle, although it has the normal number of 12, is irregular inasmuch as the Death of the Virgin is omitted at the end, and, instead, the *Chairete* inserted between the Anastasis and the Ascension. There are other examples of feast cycles in which the Koimesis is missing, but there is no other instance known to me where the substitute scene is the *Chairete*. The event of Christ meeting the two Marys is included in the lesson for the Holy Sabbath (Matthew xxviii. 1-20) and this is the place where it occurs in illustrated lectionaries.¹ Its presence in the Sinai icon suggests that the conventional set of the 12 feasts had at that time not yet been fully accepted.

However, the innovations in the illustration of the lectionary are not confined to turning narrative illustrations into feast pictures in which dogmatic and liturgical elements are injected in order to give them, by pictorial means, a greater significance. On occasion, the painter went one step further and invented entirely new scenes, theological rather than narrative.

A characteristic example is an illustration of John i. 18 — 'No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him' — a verse which marks the beginning of the lesson to be read on the Monday after Easter. In a narrative cycle of the Four Gospels such a passage seemed to have had no appeal to the illustrator,² but in a lectionary, such as the one in Dionysiu (pl. 30),³ there is an imaginative illustration of John the Evangelist who dramatizes the truth of his statement by pointing to heaven where God, in the manifestation of Christ, is depicted enthroned as the Ancient of Days, holding a youthful Christ Emmanuel in his lap. None of the lectionaries of the tenth century has either this or any other scene of a similar nature. While there is no proof that the illustrator of the Dionysiu lectionary was the first to invent this type of illustration, the probability is that it was an innovation of the eleventh century.

Another type of illustration, invented earlier, but which gained increasing popularity in the eleventh century, is the pictorial rendering of the liturgical ceremonies proper. A characteristic example is the Elevation of the Holy Cross as depicted in the Basil menologion from the end of the tenth century (pl. 31).⁴ The patriarch is standing on the ambo of St. Sophia and, flanked by other clerics, he raises the Holy Cross in his hands. There is reason to believe that the illustration of this feast consisted originally of a historical narrative, i.e. The Finding of the Holy Cross by Helen. Such illustrations have survived in the Syriac lectionaries.⁵ The

¹ So, e.g., in the fragment Leningrad cod. XXI (Morey, *Art Bull.*, xi (1929), p. 70, and fig. 83. — Weitzmann, *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, viii (1936), pp. 94-95) and the lectionary Istanbul, Greek Patr. cod. 8, Fol. 254^v (Γ. Α. Σωτηρίου, *Κεμήλια τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου* (Athens, 1937), p. 88).

² The only instance where it does occur in a Gospel is in the Rockefeller McCormick Gospel in Chicago (H. R. Willoughby, *The Rockefeller McCormick New Testament*, iii (Chicago, 1932), pp. 207 et seq., and i, pl. fol. 86^v), but here it is pictorially corrupt, using a compositional scheme that was invented as an illustration of John i. 37 where Christ meets the first two disciples.

³ Weitzmann, 'Lect. Morgan 639', p. 635, and fig. 294.

⁴ Il Menologio, p. 35.

⁵ London, Brit. Mus. Cod. add. 7169, Fol. 13^r, and Berlin, Staatsbibl. Cod. Sachau 304, Fol. 162^v. J. Leroy, *Les Manuscrits Syriaques à Peintures* (Paris, 1964), p. 355, and pl. 124, 2; p. 368, and pl. 126, 3-4.

ambo picture occurs also in a richly illustrated lectionary in the Vatican (cod. gr. 1156; pl. 32) of the third quarter of the eleventh century.¹ This and the picture of the Basil menologion seem to be derived from the same archetype, which was more likely a lectionary rather than a menologion.

Now, in the Vatican lectionary this ambo-miniature is preceded by four similar scenes, all of which have to do with the feast of the Elevation of the Holy Cross (pls. 33a-b); in each of them worshippers, in the presence of one or more bishops, are either bending over the altar table in order to kiss the Cross upon it or making a proskynesis. This proskynesis is celebrated on four consecutive days before the Feast of the Elevation on September 14, and this accounts for the repetition of the miniatures. This serial representation must be understood as an expression of the growing interest of the eleventh-century illustrator in liturgical ceremonies.

The most conspicuous enrichment of the illustration of the lectionary is due to an ever increasing influence of the menologion. True, already tenth-century manuscripts like the uncial lectionary in Lavra on Mount Athos² (cod. A.86) have a few saint figures in the calendar part, but in the eleventh century the saint pictures in the lectionary increase in splendour and numbers. In the Vatican lectionary, for example (pls. 33a-b), there exists, at least in its earlier part, a saint picture for every day of the month, and in this particular manuscript the menologion pictures by far surpass in number the christological ones.

What I should like to emphasize is that this mixture of primarily liturgical scenes based on the New Testament with the wealth of imagery coming from the menologion and additional material from other sources, is not confined to the illustration of the Gospel lectionary nor to that of other liturgical manuscripts, such as the Theodore Psalter in London, but that it occurs equally in this period in other branches of the representational arts such as icon painting.

I have already introduced the little Sinai icon with a complete set of saints for the month of February (pl. 21), which is only one of an original set of twelve. Preserved on Sinai are four altogether, namely those of January, February, March, and April. Now if one visualizes these four icons as a single unit and turns them over, the one on the far right now naturally becomes the first on the left: one will then see an extensive christological cycle which begins with the Birth of the Virgin and Her Entry into the Temple and is followed by the Infancy of Christ. The next panel depicts the miracles of Christ and, with the third one (pl. 34),³ begins the Passion, starting with the Entry into Jerusalem and ending, on the fourth panel, with the Koimesis. This cycle is in part narrative and in part liturgical, in so far as it incorporates the great feasts, including of course the Anastasis, Pentecost, and Koimesis, which are not Gospel scenes. It is a mixture similar to the one which had developed in the illustration of the Gospel lectionary, and since the style of this icon is identical with that of miniature painting, it can be taken for granted that the model was indeed a lectionary, and this may also apply to the menologion scenes. After all, we have seen that the Vatican lectionary had an almost complete set of calendar pictures incorporated into its second part, i.e. the synaxary.

Since in the case of the four Sinai icons just discussed the christological part is complete, these panels of the Calendar from January to April formed a central unit,

¹ Millet, *Recherches*, pp. (cf. index, p. 749) and figs. 76-77, 93-99, 141, 344, 426, 533. — Weitzmann, 'Narrat. and Liturg. Illustr.', pp. 156, 160, and pl. XIII, 1-4; XVIII, 1-2.

² Weitzmann, *Byz. Buchmalerei*, pp. 46 et seq., and pls. LII-LIV.

³ G. et M. Sotiriou, op. cit., p. 123, and pl. 145.

a tetrptych, apparently preceded on the left by another tetrptych with the months of September to December, and, on the right, followed by a similar one with the months of May to August. Did these two other tetrptychs, now lost, also have paintings on their backs, and, if so, what could their subject have been? This we do not know for sure, but we can at least make some suggestions on the basis of analogous cases. There are other such complex polyptychs among the Sinai icons, and it seems to us more than likely that this type of polyptych was actually invented in the eleventh century, in order to accommodate the increasingly elaborate liturgical programmes, whereas previously diptychs and triptychs in icon painting, ivory carvings, metal reliefs, etc., had sufficed for the more limited programmes.

There is at Sinai another set of four calendar icons,¹ almost intact,² which comprise the saints for every day of the year and depict the saints of three months on each icon with three rows allotted to each month, as may be seen in the first panel which contains all the saints from September to November (pl. 35). Compared with the previous set of calendar icons, the style is somewhat earlier, i.e. quite assuredly still belonging to the second half of the eleventh century, and iconographically the narrative scenes from the lives of the Saints make up a higher proportion of the illustrations, in contrast to the later calendar icons, in which the simple, frontally standing saints become preponderant. Now the far sides of the outer Calendar icons have metal hinges, which proves that the first panel on the left and the fourth panel on the right were each connected to another panel, so that we are dealing here with an hexptych, rather than a tetrptych. These two outer panels also exist separately on Sinai. The one that should be on the far left shows again a mixture of the narrative and the liturgical illustration of the New Testament (pl. 36).³ After a depiction of the Miracle of Cana in the second icon, more than half the panel is devoted to the miracles, which are followed by Passion scenes, essentially based on the two lessons for Maundy Thursday, i.e. the Last Supper and the Washing of the Feet, and on some of the 12 Passion readings of Good Friday. At the very end, there are the great feast pictures of the Anastasis, the Ascension, and an area now destroyed which would assuredly have depicted Pentecost. Once again we are reminded of the impact of the illustrated lectionary, whose dominating position and radiating influence became apparent also in icon painting.

The top row of the same icon is occupied by five images of the Virgin, four of which copy famous miracle icons that were venerated in churches of Constantinople. In the centre is the Virgin Enthroned, who is known under the name of Platytera or Nikopoia,⁴ or still other names, and she is flanked on one side by the Blachernitissa and the Hodegetria, and on the other by the Agiosoritissa and the little known Cheimeutissa. In the case of the four lateral images no doubt various Virgin icons served as models, which the icon painter transformed into a miniature style, to which he was equally accustomed.

¹ G. et M. Sotiriou, op. cit., pp. 121 et seq., and pls. 136-143. The inscriptions are in Greek and Georgian.

² The panel that contains the months of December, January, and February is cut through horizontally (Sotiriou, pl. 139) and at the right side a narrow strip is missing. I found it reproduced in: N. P. Likhachev, *Materialy dlya Istorii Russkogo Ikonopisaniya* (St. Petersburg, 1906), pl. XII, 21. Apparently it is one of the Sinai icons which Porphyrius Uspensky brought to Russia in the middle of the nineteenth century.

³ G. et M. Sotiriou, op. cit., pp. 125 et seq., and pls. 146-9.

⁴ While Sotiriou calls this Virgin Platytera, a good case for calling this type Nikopoia has been made by G. A. Wellen, *Theotokos. Eine ikonographische Abhandlung über das Gottesmutterbild in frühchristlicher Zeit* (Utrecht-Antwerpen, 1961), pp. 147 et seq.

The panel that once occupied the extreme right of the hexaptych depicts the Last Judgment (pl. 37).¹ Essentially it shows the same lay-out as the two Last Judgment miniatures in the richly illustrated and almost contemporary Gospel book in Paris, grec. 74.² Obviously, miniatures and the icon alike derive from the same source. Because both share an extraordinary complexity, a clearly organized lay-out in horizontal rows, and a hieratic quality, achieved by symmetry and other means, the composition seems to point to an archetype in mosaic or fresco painting.³ The place of a monumental Last Judgment in a church, as we know from the mosaic in Torcello⁴ and other examples in fresco as well, was on the west wall. In the Sinai icon, the groups of the elect show a more even distribution and the zones are more sharply divided than in the miniatures, and this suggests that the icon is closer to the archetype than the Paris miniatures. This conclusion is supported by many details, such as the fuller depiction of the choirs of the elect, or the placing of the dead rising out of the tomb at the bottom of the panel. There is no evidence, as far as we can see, for the existence of this complex Last Judgment composition in the tenth century, though some clues may, of course, have been lost. However this may be, it is not before the eleventh century that this composition became firmly established and spread into miniature and icon painting, and even ivory carving.⁵ All copies show the style of the capital, so there can be little doubt that the archetype was a monumental mosaic or fresco in some church of Constantinople.

As mentioned before, the location for the Last Judgment, in cases where it is included in the liturgical programme, is the west wall of a church, a place usually reserved for the Death of the Virgin. Now, the first panel of our hexaptych ended apparently with Pentecost, omitting the Death of the Virgin. This suggests that the Last Judgment has taken its place, just as in a church decoration, as a substitute for a Koimesis.

Reflecting on the hexaptych as a whole, one notices basically the same range of iconographical subject matter which one finds in a Gospel lectionary, i.e. a mixture of narrative and liturgical Gospel scenes and a complete calendar. If the Last Judgment is not preserved in any lectionary, this may be accidental. Its presence in the Paris Gospel book which, as demonstrated before, possesses quite a number of feast pictures adopted from the liturgical Gospels, suggests that once it *did* exist in an eleventh-century lectionary. Even so, it is equally possible or perhaps even more likely that in our particular case the Sinai icon, because of its greater complexity, derives directly from a monumental painting. We must reckon with repeated evidence of mutual interpenetration of the various media, an interpenetration which may have been much easier and much more frequent than is generally assumed.

Sotiriou has published a second icon of the Last Judgment (pl. 39)⁶ which I would like to discuss briefly although it dates from the early twelfth century, because it can be demonstrated that this icon also was once a part of a polyptych of which we have been able to trace the other panels among the Sinai icons. A

¹ Ibid., pp. 128 et seq., and pl. 150.

² Omont, *Evangelies avec Peint. Byz.*, pls. 41 and 81.

³ As for the most recent writing on the subject of the Last Judgment cf. B. Brenk, 'Die Anfänge der Byzantinischen Weltgerichtsdarstellung', *B.Z.*, lvii (1964), pp. 106 et seq.

⁴ Lazarev, op. cit., pl. 240.

⁵ An ivory in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (A. Goldschmidt-K. Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, ii (Berlin, 1934), p. 60, and pl. XLV No. 123) with a Last Judgment, which is abbreviated but derived from the same archetype, likewise must be dated to the eleventh century.

⁶ G. et M. Sotiriou, op. cit., p. 130, and pl. 151.

cutting in the right side of the frame precisely matches the projection of a wing which, when joined and closed, fills the recessed area of the Last Judgment icon. On the left side, holes for hinges suggest the existence of an identical square panel which also had provisions for an outer wing. In other words, we are dealing here with a quadriptych that folds twice. The Last Judgment was not, in this case, at the extreme right, but at the right of the centre. Iconographically, it is very close to the previous one without being a direct copy; and this would suggest that both were rather closely related to the lost archetype. The second panel off the centre (pl. 38), once positioned at the left of the Last Judgment, is kept in the bema of the church at the back of the iconostasis. It represents precisely the 12 feasts as they were finally accepted, and a comparison with the corresponding panel in the earlier hexaptych makes it clear that, by this stage, the concentration on the liturgical feast cycle had led to the complete elimination of narrative scenes.

The two wings (pls. 40-41),¹ now in the icon room of the monastery, depict at the very top the Birth of the Virgin and Her Presentation in the Temple. These two scenes from Mary's Infancy had become important feast pictures and they occur twice on Sinai iconostasis beams,² where they precede the 12 feasts, and thus serve as a kind of introduction to them. Underneath the two Virgin scenes, on the wings, there are two rows of saints who, contrary to the hexaptych, are arranged not according to the calendar, but to their hierarchical order. First come the great church fathers, followed by the soldier saints, the physician saints, the holy monks and nuns, and finally by Constantine and Helen. This is the liturgical order in which the saints are placed in a church decoration: the fathers of the church occupy the most honoured place in the apse, then follow the soldiers and other saints, and finally, the monks and nuns take the more humble place close to the entrance of the church.

Analysed as a whole, this tetraptych brings into focus the liturgical programme more sharply than the hexaptych discussed before: (1) by giving to the Last Judgment a more central position within the polyptych; (2) by concentrating the christological cycle entirely on the 12 canonical feasts; (3) by adding the pictures of two Virgin feasts; and (4) by positioning the saints according to their hierarchical order. Thus the comparison between these two polyptychs gives us a clear insight into the trend of an ever increasing precision in the formulation of the liturgical programme as it developed within the eleventh century. It seems appropriate to stress the point once more that liturgical programmes as such were not an innovation of the eleventh century, but that they were intensified, elaborated, and systematized at that time. One of the earlier crystallizations into a liturgical composition is the Deesis, which is based on the prayer of intercession of the liturgy. This can be demonstrated by the tenth-century ivory triptychs of the Romanus group,³ where the theme is fully developed, with the archangels, apostles, and other saints grouped around the Deesis proper.

Yet the fact that the Deesis, together with the cycle of the 12 great feasts, form a larger liturgical unit is compatible with the tendency towards greater complexity in the eleventh century. This may be seen in another Sinai icon, which was executed in the refined style of Constantinople in the second half of the eleventh century (pl. 42).⁴ The Deesis in the top row is flanked by the two archangels and two pairs

¹ G. et M. Sotiriou, *op. cit.*, p. 167 and fig. 180.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 107 et seq., and figs. 99, 101, 125. The second beam is still unpublished.

³ Cf. p. 215, n. 2.

⁴ G. et M. Sotiriou, *op. cit.*, pp. 75 et seq., and pls. 57-61.

of apostles at either side. But there was no place for all the apostles, and two more pairs had to be moved to the corners of the second row. Presumably there must have been a model in which the 12 apostles were all lined up in one row, and this model assuredly was an epistyle of an iconostasis, in which, as we now know from the findings on Mount Sinai, the placing of a Deesis in the centre of the beam is quite normal.¹ Moreover, as we learn from the same group of Sinai monuments, the epistyle of the iconostasis is also the place for a cycle of the 12 great feasts, sometimes with a Deesis in the centre,² and thus we are justified in believing that the feast cycle of our Sinai icon is also derived from an iconostasis beam. The traditional arrangement on these beams is to place the individual scenes under painted arches, and the effect of such a decorative system is apparent in a few scenes from our Sinai icon.

It is an open question as to whether the icon painter used two different iconostasis epistyles as models; it is perhaps more likely that he used as a model one epistyle which either had all the saints and feasts in one long beam or in two, the upper one being composed of the Deesis with the apostles, and the lower one consisting of the 12 feasts. That the pre-iconoclastic period already had figurative representations, mainly those of saints, on the epistyle of the iconostasis, we know from the description of the sixth-century iconostasis in Hagia Sophia, as described by Paul the Silentiary.³ Yet among the achievements of the eleventh century,⁴ as we learn from the icon just analysed, was, if we are not mistaken, the use of the 12 feast cycle for the decoration of an epistyle of an iconostasis which dates from a period earlier than the extant instances of Sinai from the latter part of the twelfth century. The icon also seems to suggest that the eleventh century already saw the introduction of the epistyle with two beams of different subject matter in separate zones, a form which so far has been known only from considerably later instances.

The programme of this icon and of the previously discussed polyptychs has many features in common with the general lay-out of monumental church decoration, both in mosaic and fresco. In the eleventh-century mosaic decoration of Hosios Lukas, the Nea Moni, and Daphni, the cycle of the 12 feasts played a dominant role at the very time that it became a central theme in icon painting. Christ, the Virgin, John the Baptist, the archangels, the apostles, and the saints are all integrated into a programme which is as systematized in monumental art as it is in polyptychs. So close indeed are the interpenetrations of all branches of painting that it becomes almost superfluous to raise the question as to which medium has the priority of invention. Liturgical programmes were, apparently, laid out by learned clerics without regard for a special medium of the representational arts. They were, if such a comparison be permitted, like some of Bach's music composed without a specific instrument in mind.

If some generalizations about the artistic achievements of eleventh-century painting may be permitted, one would have to say this. The achievements of the Macedonian renaissance were never to be abandoned, and a classicizing quality in

¹ Cf. the thirteenth-century iconostasis beam with the Deesis and apostles: Sotiriou, *op. cit.*, pp. 112 et seq., and pls. 117-124.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 102 et seq., and pls. 87-102; pp. 111 et seq., and pls. 112-116.

³ St. G. Xydis, 'The Chancel Barrier, Solea and Ambo of Hagia Sophia', *Art Bull.*, xxix (1947), pp. 7 et seq.

⁴ For the importance of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in developing a richer iconostasis, cf. V. Lasareff, 'Trois Fragments d'Epistyles peintes et le Templon Byzantin', *Τιμητικός Γ. Σωτηρίου, Δελτ. Αρχ. Εταιρ., Περ. Δ', Τόμ. Δ'* (Athens, 1964), pp. 117 et seq.

the rendering of the human figure as an organic and corporeal unity remained a stable factor as long as Byzantine art lasted, although the physical reality of the individual figure diminished somewhat in the eleventh century in order to achieve the effect of greater spiritualization. An ascetic body depicted in billowing classical drapery became the ideal in this period, when a conciliation between monastic precepts and a continued study of the classics, which had been mutually antagonistic in the early days of Christianity, finally achieved a perfect balance. It is in the eleventh century that these two forces were moulded into an indissoluble and harmonious entity of such strength that the eleventh-century style became the normalized — one may even say the 'canonical' — style for centuries to come, surviving in its essence, though altered in detail, even after the fall of Constantinople.

In the iconographic realm, one may note, notwithstanding the continuation of a rich tradition ever present in Byzantine art, the development of new subject matter, such as the illustrations of monastic treatises which achieve the same richness and expressiveness as the more traditional biblical and patristic illustrations. The new ascetic and spiritualizing trend affects in this period even the miniatures of classical subject matter.

The most fundamental change in eleventh-century iconography was the transformation of a comparatively more descriptive painting into a more complex one in which the liturgical element increased steadily. Certainly liturgical art had existed before the eleventh century, but it now became by far the predominant factor in all ramifications of religious painting. It found its newly strengthened position in the concentration on and lavish illustration of the leading liturgical books: the psalter, the menologion and, most important of all, the Gospel lectionary. In these manuscripts changes and innovations occurred which were paralleled by similar ones in icon and monumental painting, art forms which also became thoroughly impregnated with a sense of liturgical order. The culminating point in eleventh-century iconography was reached when the liturgical art crystallized into larger programmes which were so thoroughly adjusted to the orthodox rite that the Church never felt the need to change them in their essence, though in detail alterations and accretions occurred from time to time. To the advantage of Byzantine civilization, the harmonious art of the eleventh century fulfilled for subsequent centuries the need of an all-pervading liturgical art.



PLATE 1. Vatican, Cod. gr. 1613, P. 299: Baptism of Christ



PLATE 2. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, Cod. 521, Fol. 38^r: Baptism of Christ



PLATE 3. Mt Athos, Dionysiu, Cod. 587, Fol. 141^v: Baptism of Christ

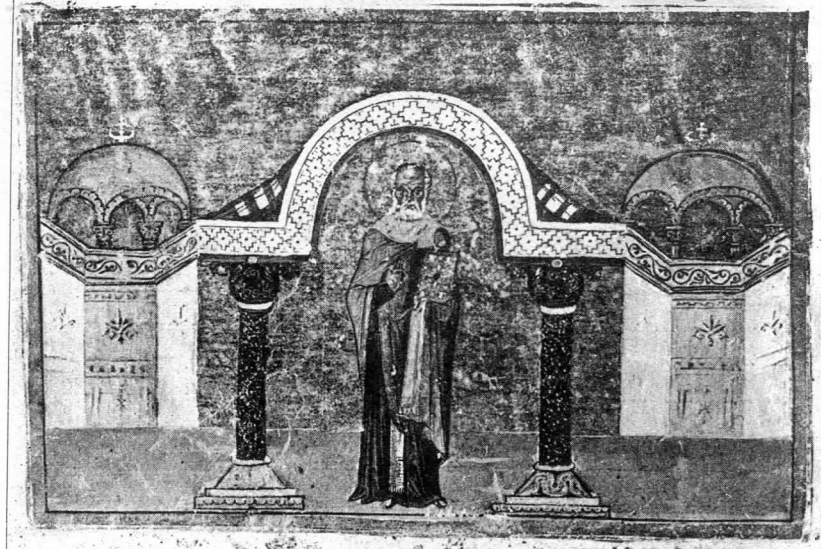


PLATE 4. Vatican, Cod. gr. 1613, P. 349: Gregory Nazianzenus



PLATE 5. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, Cod. 521, Fol. 233^v: Gregory Nazianzenus



PLATE 6. Mt Athos, Dionysiu, Cod. 587, Fol. 143^r: Gregory Nazianzenus

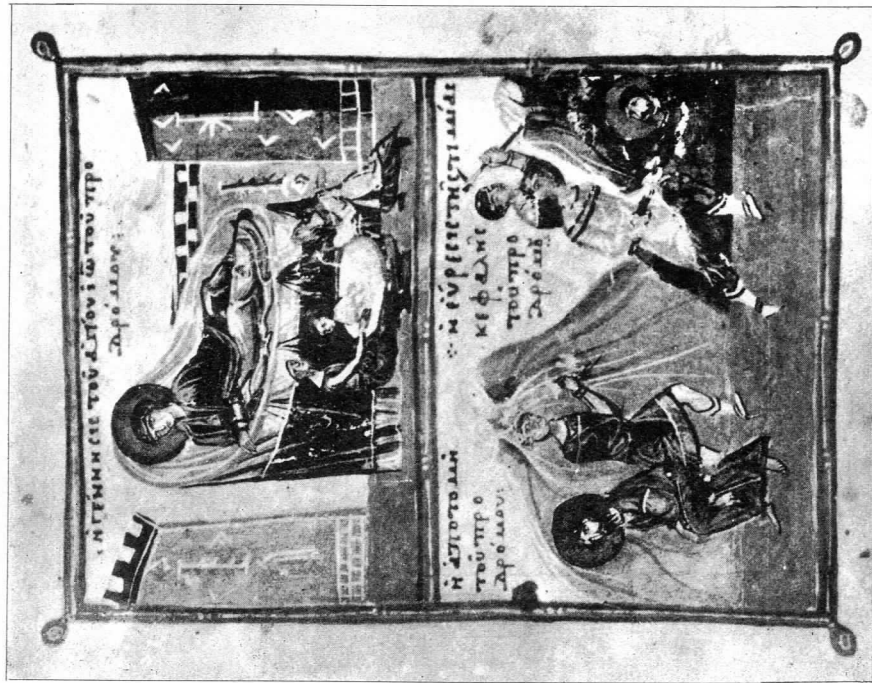


PLATE 7. Moscow, Histor. Mus. Cod. 382, Fol. 210^r:
Birth of John the Baptist

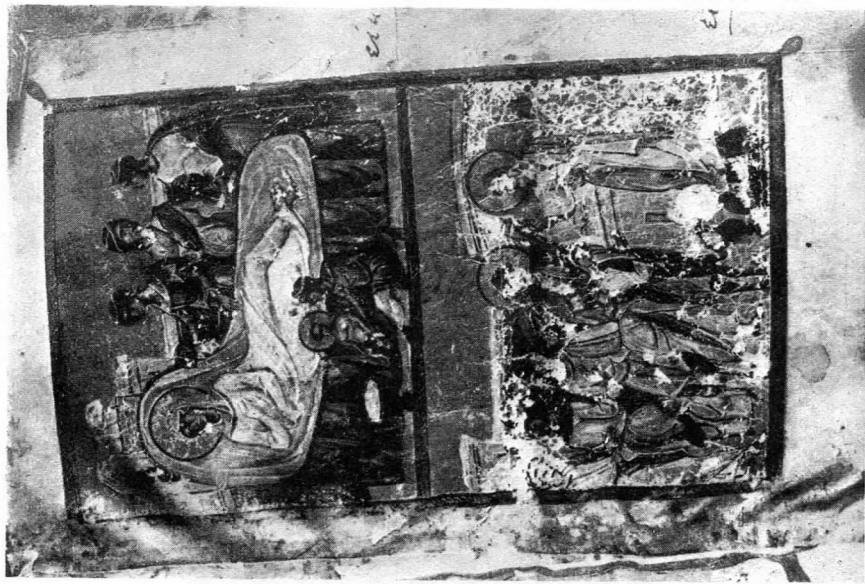


PLATE 9. Washington, Dumb. Oaks (olim Pantocratoros
Cod. 49), Fol. 5^r: Birth and Anointing of David

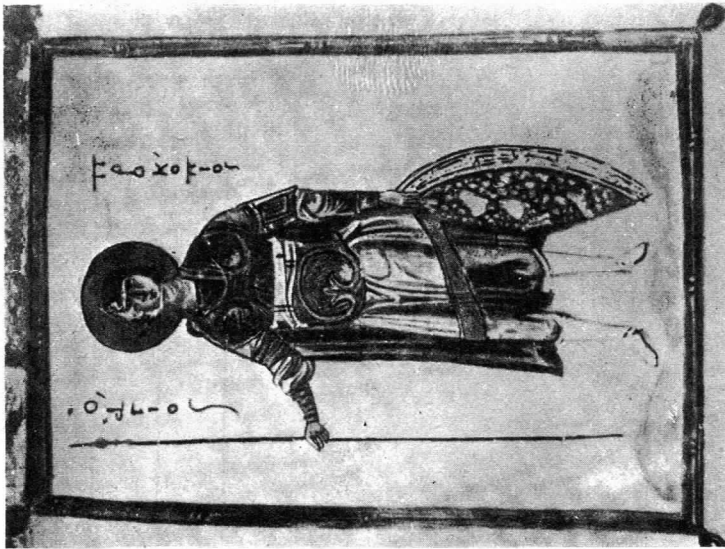


PLATE 8. Moscow, Histor. Mus. Cod. 382, Fol. 125^v:
St Procopius



PLATE 10. Cleveland, Museum of Art (olim Pantocratoros Cod. 49),
Fol. 254^r: St Peter

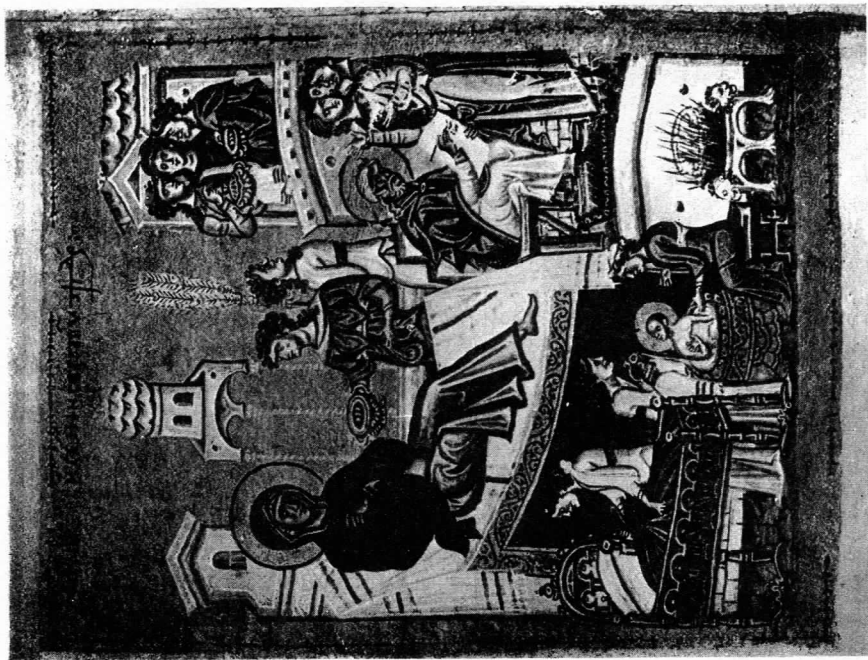


PLATE II. Vatican, Cod. Urb. gr. 2, Fol. 167^v:
Birth of John the Baptist



PLATE I3. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Cod. gr. 139, Fol. 422^v:
Moses Receiving the Tablets of the Law



PLATE 12. Washington, Dumb. Oaks (olim Pantocratoros Cod. 49), Fol. 73^r:
Moses Receiving the Tablets of the Law



PLATE 14. London, Brit. Mus. Cod. add. 19352, Fol. 193^v:
Moses Receiving the Tablets of the Law



PLATE 15. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Cod. gr. 74, Fol. 169^r: Baptism of Christ



PLATE 16. Vatican, Cod. gr. 394, Fol. 66^r: Malice and Humility

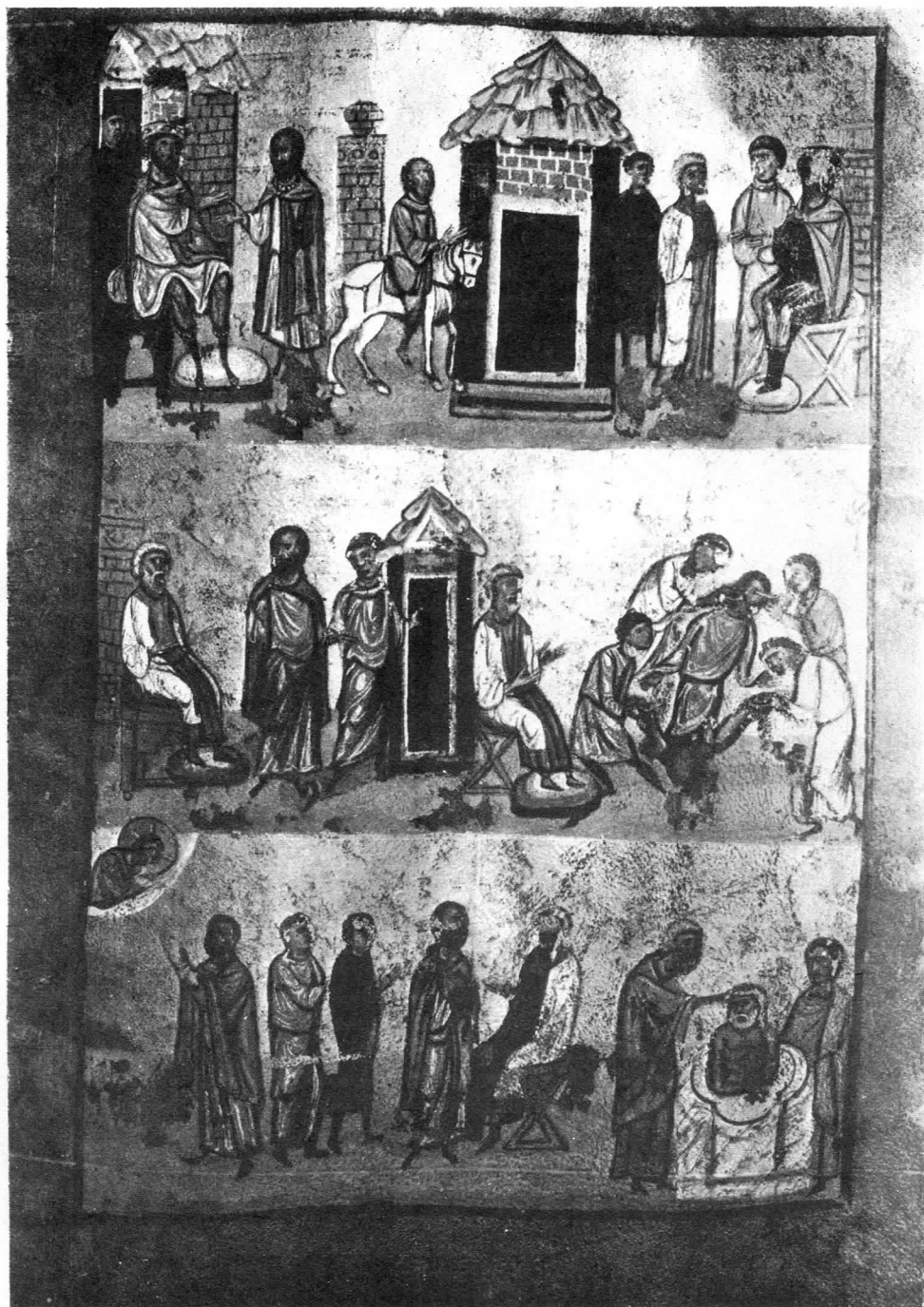


PLATE 17. Mt Athos, Esphigmenu Cod. 14, Fol. 294r: St Menas *et al.*



PLATE 18a-b. Mt Sinai, Triptych wing: Scenes from the Life of St Nicholas

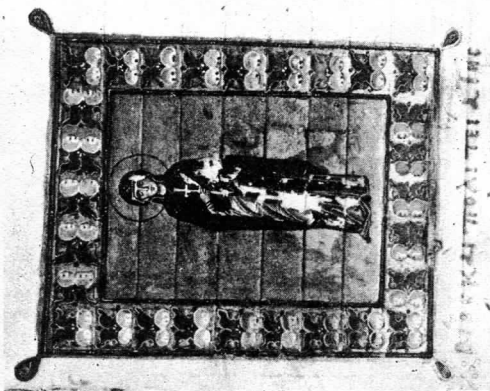


PLATE 19a-b. Mt Athos, Lavra Cod. 4. 51,
Fols. 131^v and 220^v: Saints

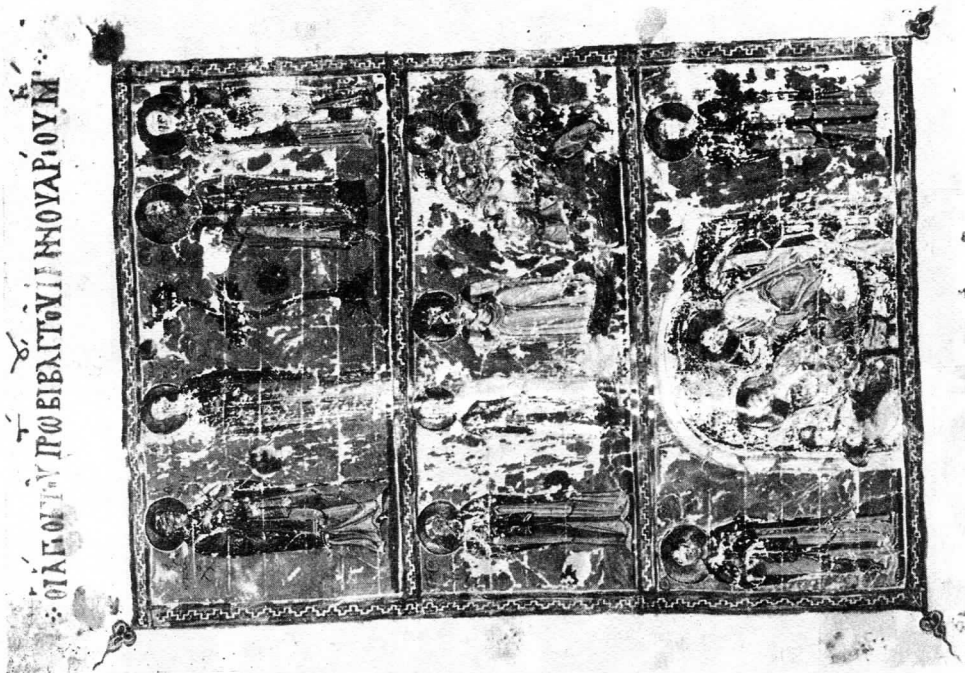


PLATE 20. Mt Sinai, Cod. 512, Fol. 2^v:
Saints of month of January

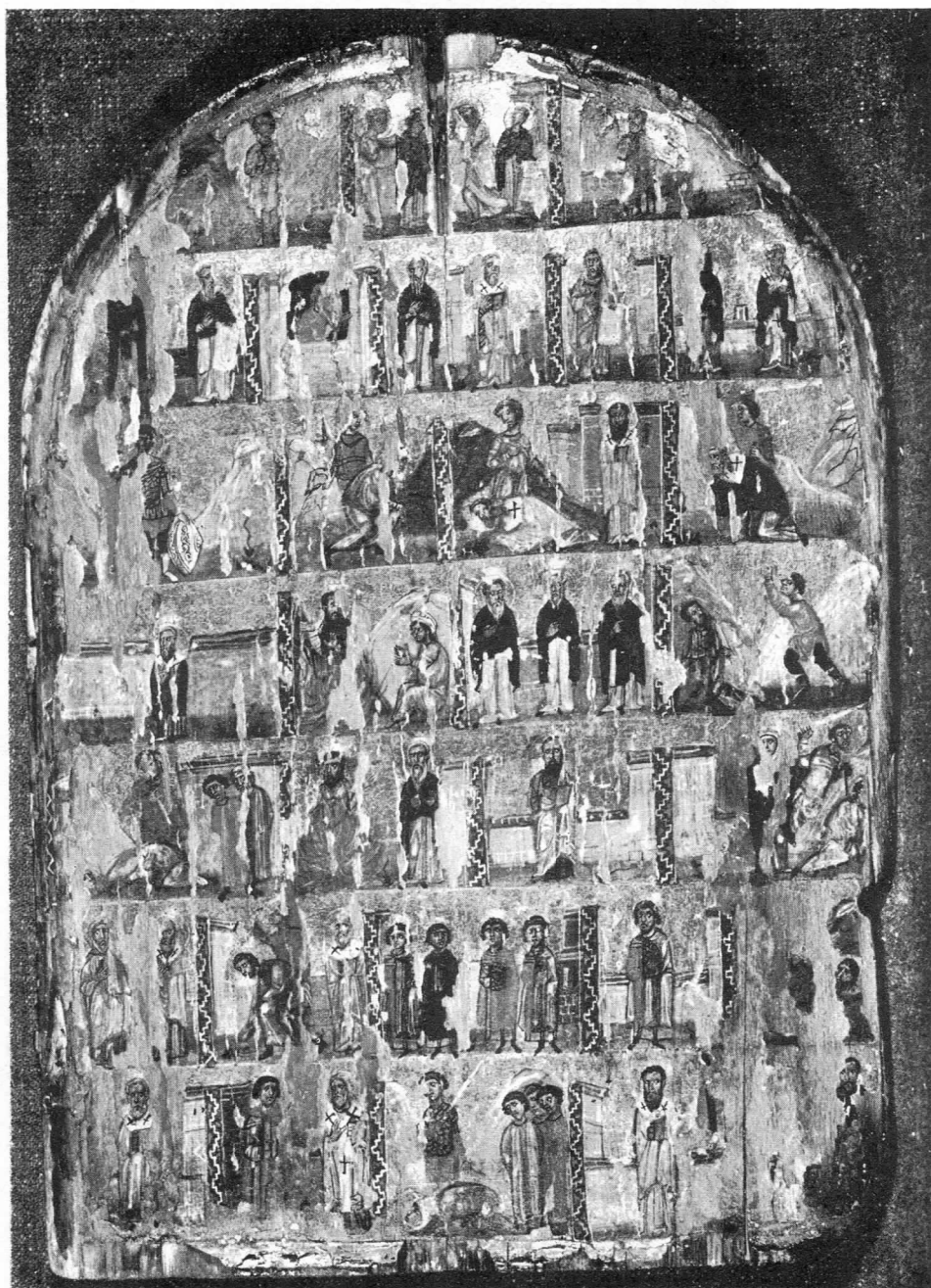


PLATE 21. Mt Sinai, Icon: Month of February



PLATE 22. Washington, Dumb. Oaks (olim Pantocratoros Cod. 49), Fol. 4^v: Virgin and Saints



PLATE 23a-b. London, Brit. Mus. Cod. add. 19352, Fols. 117^r and 120^v: Saints



PLATE 24. Mt Athos, Dionysiu Cod. 587, Fol. 2^r: Anastasis



PLATE 25. Florence, Laur. Cod. Plut. VI, 23, Fol. 59^v: Passion Scenes



PLATE 27. Jerusalem, Patr. Lib. Cod. *Tάφου* 14, Fol. 3^r: Anastasis



PLATE 26a-c. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Cod. gr. 74, Fols. 59^v, 60^v, 61^r: Passion scenes

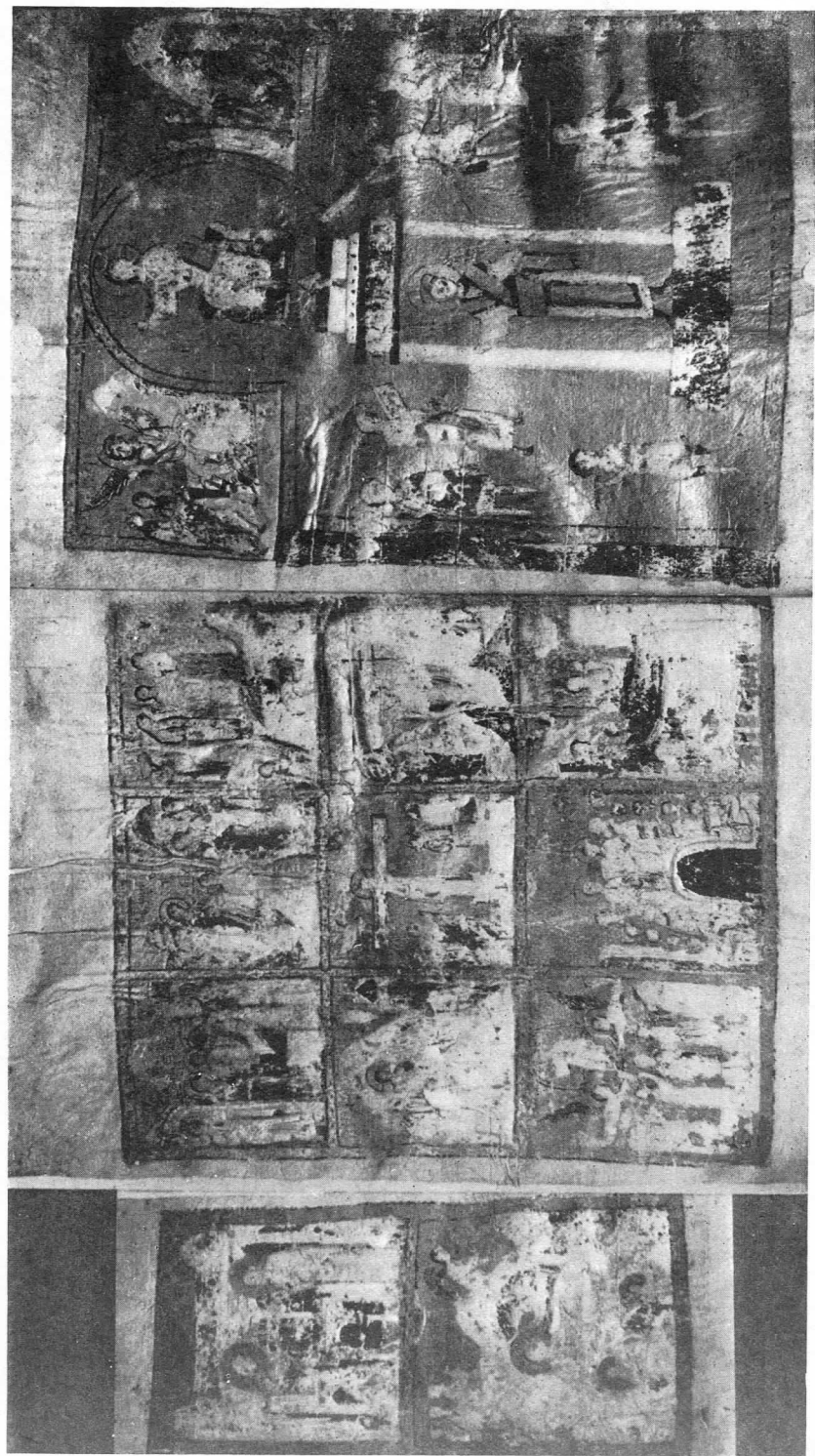


PLATE 28a-c. Vatican Cod. gr. 752, Fols. 17^v-18^v: 12 Feasts

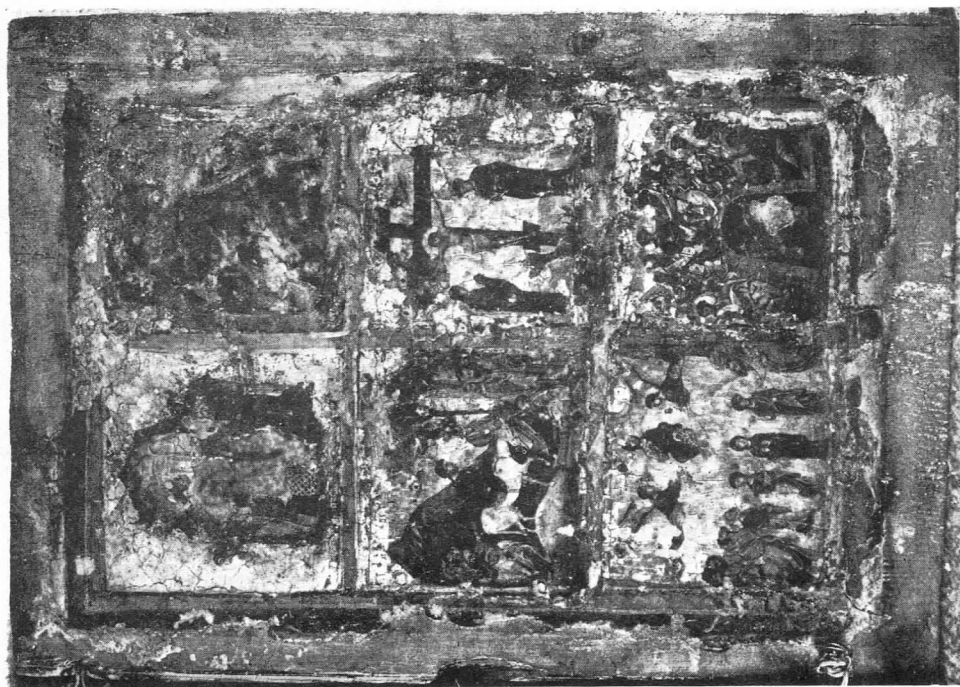
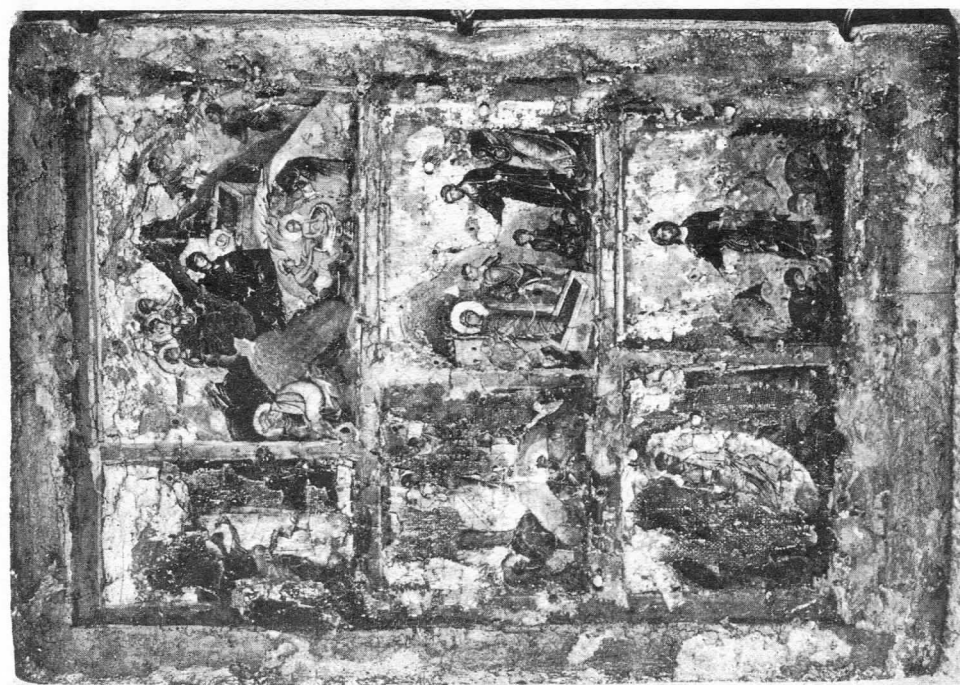


PLATE 29a-b. Sinai, Icon: 12 Feasts



PLATE 30. Mt Athos, Dionysiou Cod. 587,
Fol. 3^v: John the Evangelist



PLATE 32. Vatican, Cod. gr. 1156, Fol. 250^v:
Elevation of the Holy Cross



PLATE 31. Vatican, Cod. gr. 1613, P. 35: Elevation of the Holy Cross

Ιωαννου βασι
 σαυς αυτου
 ροι ουδ ελμα
 αυτο οδ εωδ
 μεγαλμα
 καρδιοικου
 το τον δρομ
 ου. Ιωαννου
 φρασσιν
 το αυτο
 τωναδ και
 ιωαννου και
 ιωαννου
 ες τον λογα



Τη αυτη μερα
 αυτη εστη
 η κηνη των
 πατων

Τη αυτη μερα

εστιν η τροικη των
 πλων των λων
 της της της



Τη αυτη μερα
 αυτη εστη
 η κηνη των
 πατων

Τη αυτη μερα
 αυτη εστη
 η κηνη των
 πατων

Τη αυτη μερα
 αυτη εστη
 η κηνη των
 πατων



εστιν η τροικη των

PLATE 33a-b. Vatican, Cod. gr. 1156, Fols. 248r-v: Holy Cross

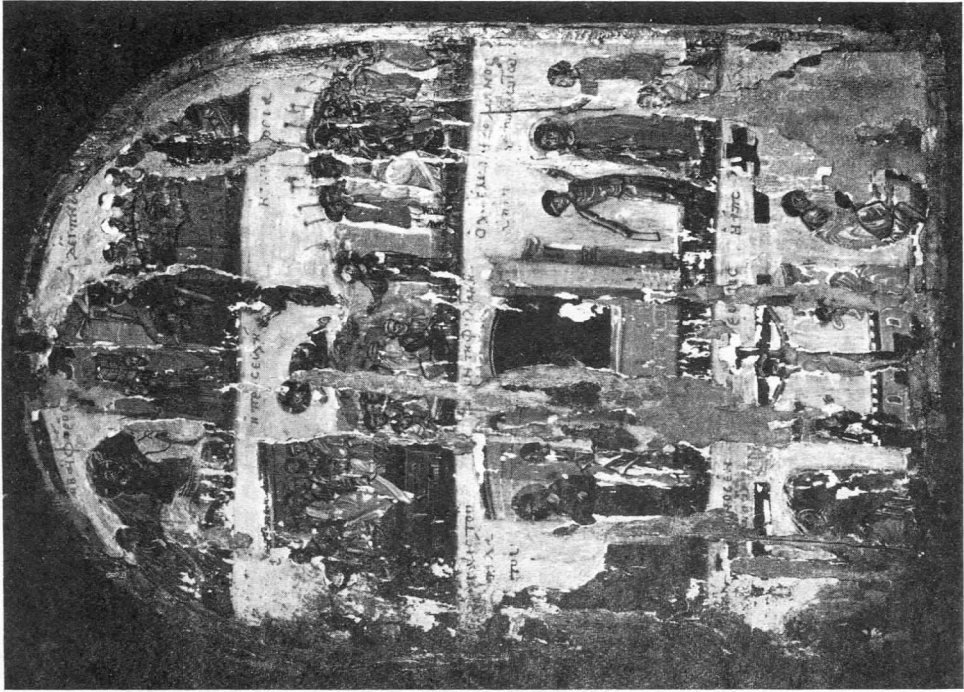


PLATE 34. Sinai. Icon: Life of Christ

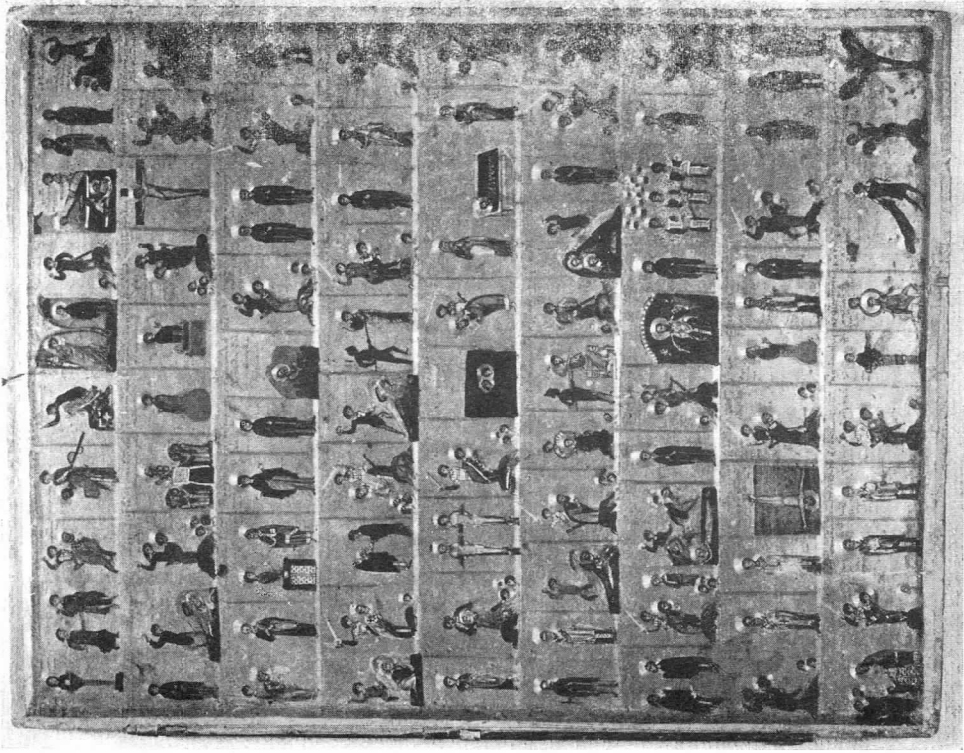


PLATE 35. Sinai. Icon: Saints from September to November

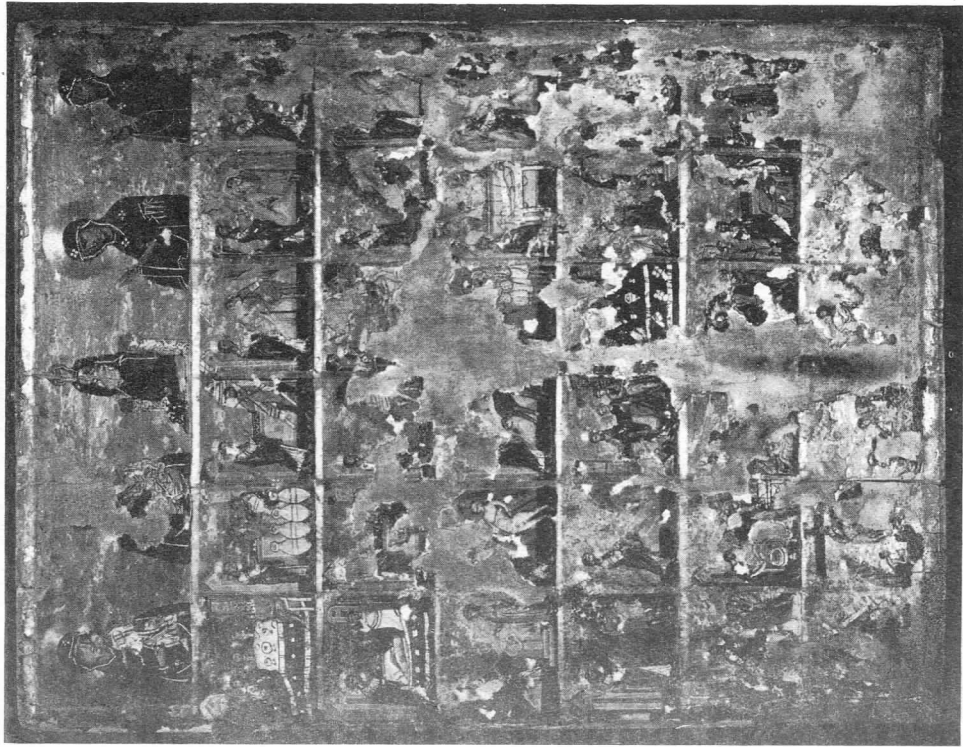


PLATE 36. Sinai. Icon: Holy Images and Life of Christ

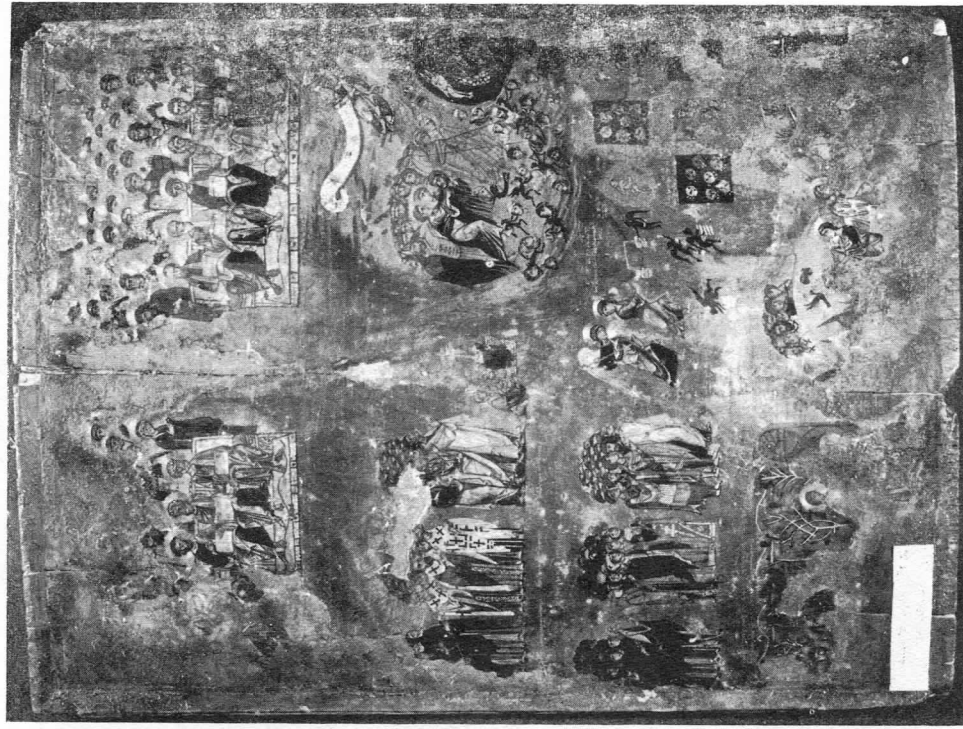


PLATE 37. Sinai. Icon: Last Judgment

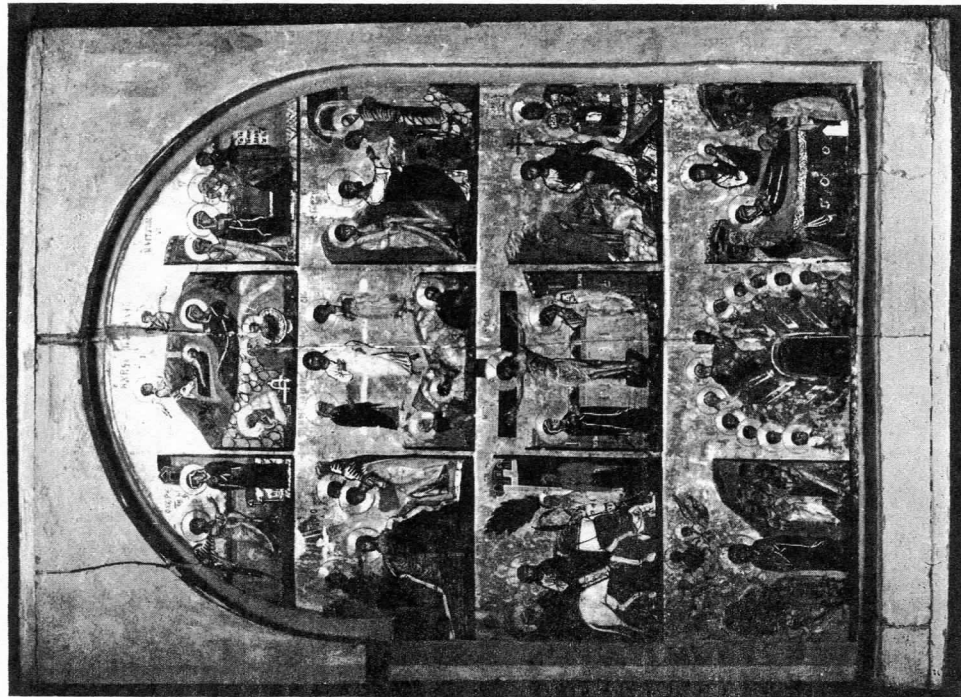


PLATE 38. Sinai. Icon: 12 Feasts

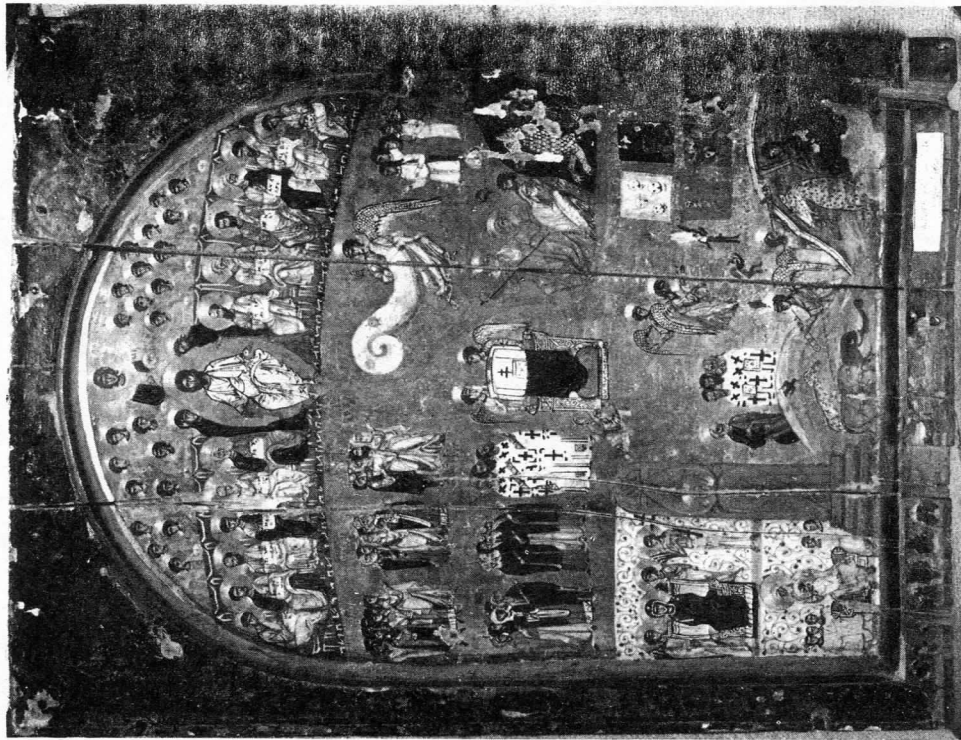


PLATE 39. Sinai. Icon: Last Judgment

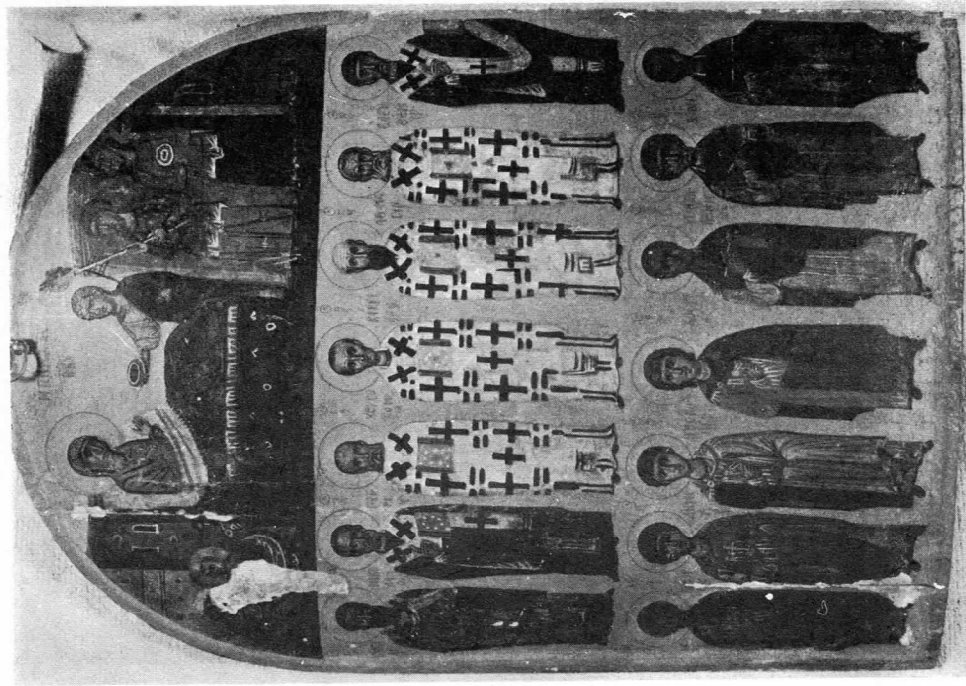


PLATE 40. Sinai. Icon wing: Birth of Virgin and saints

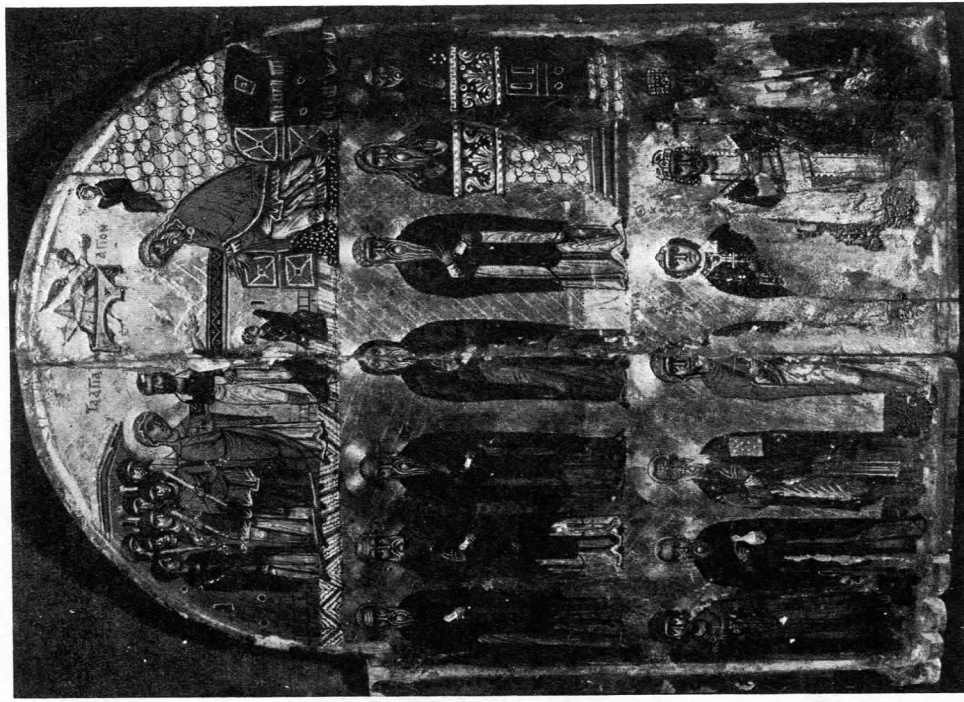


PLATE 41. Sinai. Icon wing: Presentation in the Temple and saints



PLATE 42. Sinai. Icon: Deesis and 12 feasts

Some Online Resources

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[Mt. Sinai Icons](#)

[Anastasis Icons](#)

[Byzantine Psalters](#)

Wikipedia:

[Byzantine Art](#), at Wikipedia

[Byzantine Art](#), Google search of Wikipedia

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The Ancient World Online (AWOL):

[Byzantine Art](#)

Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History:

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